

The Crusades and Visual Culture

Edited by
Elizabeth Lapina, April Jehan Morris,
Susanna A. Throop and Laura J. Whatley



An **Ashgate** Book

THE CRUSADES AND VISUAL CULTURE

The crusades, whether realized or merely planned, had a profound impact on medieval and early modern societies. Numerous scholars in the fields of history and literature have explored the influence of crusading ideas, values, aspirations and anxieties in both the Latin States and Europe. However, there have been few studies dedicated to investigating how the crusading movement influenced and was reflected in medieval visual cultures. Written by scholars from around the world working in the domains of art history and history, the essays in this volume examine the ways in which ideas of crusading were realized in a broad variety of media (including manuscripts, cartography, sculpture, mural paintings, and metalwork). Arguing implicitly for recognition of the conceptual frameworks of crusades that transcend traditional disciplinary boundaries, the volume explores the pervasive influence and diverse expression of the crusading movement from the twelfth through the fifteenth centuries.

Elizabeth Lapina received a PhD in History from the Johns Hopkins University and is now Assistant Professor of History at the University of Wisconsin–Madison, USA.

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About the Editors

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Ages: Emotion, Religion and Feud (Ashgate, 2010). She has received funding from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the Gates Cambridge Trust, and the American Historical Association, and was awarded the Denis Bethell Prize (2012). Her recent publications include "Mirrored Images: The Passion and the First Crusade in a fourteenth-century Parisian Illuminated Manuscript," *Journal of Medieval History* 41, no. 2 (2015).

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Introduction

*Elizabeth Lapina, April Jehan Morris, Susanna A. Throop,
and Laura J. Whatley*

This volume was given the title *The Crusades and Visual Culture* with clear purpose, as it best reflects both the volume's contents and intentions. It is not, strictly speaking, a performance in the history of art to the tune of crusade history. Although at times the images analyzed in this volume beautifully dovetail with the history of the crusades, they often construct meanings within different rhetorical or communicative traditions than the written records traditionally used to access the crusader past.¹ Scholars using images as primary sources for crusade culture certainly have not dismissed text-based critical study, but they have uncovered places where visual works reframe, exceed, or even challenge the textual sources. Indeed, at its core, the study of visual culture posits that visual images play a crucial role in the meaning-making of culture.² As such, the contributions contained within this volume should not be treated as an "illustrated guide" to the history of the crusades. Rather, this volume has sought cross-disciplinary approaches to a broad range of media in order to better understand not only how crusading was represented, reflected, or promoted in art and architecture but also how the very idea of crusading itself was visualized across time and space and how such visualizations presented their own views and agency. In this regard, the study of visual culture is closely tied to the very notion of visibility, which Whitney Davis has recently defined as the "symbolic form" of visual perception and/or experience.³ Therefore, this volume on the visual culture of crusade is not narrowly focused on visual representations of crusades and crusaders but more broadly interested in the imaging or picturing of a broad range of crusade perceptions and experiences, including exploring the visual, intentional, and interpretive differences and similarities between works more traditionally considered "Crusader" (meaning created in the Latin Kingdoms between 1099 and 1291) and the impact of the crusades, as both action and idea, on European visual culture. In this sense, this volume and its chapters fit into the interdisciplinary movement towards a pluralistic reading of the crusades, which encompasses both militant action and idea while engaging

with cultural reflections of each within carefully considered contextual and analytical frameworks.

In the mid-1990s, the visual culture turn was at the center of art historical discourse, as scholars were growing more deeply aware of the discipline's "inseparability from a larger cultural and ideological world."⁴ This inseparability certainly demands the field of art history meaningfully engage with a range of other disciplines, including, for instance, history, anthropology, philosophy, psychology, film studies, classics, and literature. This does not mean, however, that the "new" job of an art historian is to cobble together evidence from these diverse fields in order to invent a new approach to a work of art or monument in a glib interdisciplinarity; rather, as W.J.T. Mitchell proposed, the study of visual culture requires "conversations" among the disciplines as a means to probe or circumscribe new areas of inquiry regarding the visual world.⁵ While the emphasis on cultural study influenced art historical methodology, the "visual" of visual culture challenged the traditional art historical canon, which privileges the "high arts" of painting and sculpture and the grand narrative of Western civilization. In the context of modern visual culture, this has resulted in the recognition of both traditional and popular media (film, television, advertisements) as equally important images for study and analysis. For the medievalist, it then follows that the constituent parts of medieval visual culture should not be privileged or qualified based on medium. The art historian interested in visual culture during the Middle Ages thus analyzes a broad range of images, from architecture, sculpture, and wall painting to pavements, illuminated manuscripts, maps, and seals as well as visual ephemera like liturgical drama or royal spectacle alongside one another.

Visual and material culture studies also call into question the relationship between image and text, since they aim, first and foremost, at recognizing and examining the role visual media and visual communication play in social, cultural, and personal structures. The advent of visual culture methodologies has both reinvigorated and substantiated the work of art historians, both past and present, who have recognized in the visual and material records of medieval and early modern European dialogues, representations, narratives, iconographic developments, intra-media exchanges, and conceptual presentations whose dependence on text is at best tangential. Scholarly analyses of manuscript image cycles have provided ample evidence that even in the direct presence of text, images often act independently of text and textual traditions to present alternative and even contradictory narratives.⁶ This independence, particularly in a largely aliterate or illiterate society, may explain why many pre-modern scholars have found the utilization of a body of methodological approaches first applied to contemporary society, where an increasingly large percentage of the population receives the majority of their daily information visually rather than textually, less anachronistic than it may seem at face value.

Crusading studies have particularly benefited from the recognition that textual and visual representations are not always directly parallel. Published

in 1944, Adolf Katzenellenbogen's now classic article on the central tympanum at Vézelay framed out a methodological approach to medieval visual culture that took into account the social, phenomenological, practical, and historical impact of the crusades on medieval Europe.⁷ Katzenellenbogen's interpretation of the tympanum relied not on the direct translation of a particular text or series of texts into stone, but rather considered the sculptural program as a multivalent reflection of a complex series of theological and social concerns. The narrative of the tympanum is, then, a uniquely visual creation that draws from any number of sources, textual and visual, to express a coherent and expansive set of ideas. Subsequent generations of art historians have followed suit, including Linda Seidel, Nurith Kenaan-Kedar, Daniel Weiss, Anne Derbes, and Don Denny among others, all of whom looked to visual models as well as textual sources to understand the complex varieties of crusading representations at work in medieval and early modern European art.⁸

Increasingly, crusading studies as a field has grown ever more interdisciplinary, and recent edited volumes such as *France and the Holy Land: Frankish Culture at the End of the Crusades* (2004) and *Remembering the Crusades: Myth, Image and Identity* (2012) confirm that the disciplines have grown more closely together in a shared exploration of all forms of medieval crusade documentation, from frescoes, icons, and seals to sermons, poetry, and universal histories.⁹ The increased inclusion of Crusader works from the Latin Kingdoms into examinations of the European crusading experience has further broadened the field, and steadily chipped away at the perceptual boundary between West and East in ways that are proving increasingly valuable in understanding cross-Mediterranean contact and interconnectivity and the effects of both on the medieval political and socio-cultural landscape. This rich discourse has provoked a new series of innovative and thought-provoking considerations of the ways in which the crusades—as practice and ideal—impacted upon various forms of medieval visual material. The chapters in this volume represent a variety of new modes of seeing that draw from this expanding understanding and interest in the visual history of crusade-related materials. By continuing to broaden disciplinary and methodological boundaries, we hope that this volume will become a focal point for the study of the visual culture of crusades: that is, how the crusades and their attendant ideologies have been communicated visually to different audiences, via different media, at different historical moments. The goal of the present volume, then, is to bring together different approaches and techniques of inquiry in order to demonstrate the wealth and variety of representations of crusading in visual sources.

One of several artificial barriers that the volume challenges separates so-called Crusader art and architecture from artistic production in Western Europe. Crusader art and architecture, which Jaroslav Folda has considered to be a “unique Near Eastern phenomenon,” consists of castles, churches, illuminated manuscripts, icons and other forms of visual material manufactured in the Crusader or Latin Kingdom primarily for crusader consumption.¹⁰ Although there is no doubt that objects or buildings traditionally considered to be part

of Crusader art have many particularities, especially in the way they weave together Western, Byzantine, and even Islamic artistic traditions, there is considerable value in treating them alongside works executed in the West. In fact, the very notion of a frontier between the East and the West is largely unhelpful, as it obscures the complexity of cultural, religious, and political encounters in the Mediterranean basin and beyond. For example, in her chapter entitled "The Crusader Loss of Jerusalem in the Eyes of a Thirteenth-Century Virtual Pilgrim," Cathleen A. Fleck challenges the convention that the Riccardiana Psalter was executed in Acre and argues that Sicily was a much more likely location. She also suggests that the manuscript was not supposed to be used by a crusader, but by someone living away from the Holy Land. If Fleck is correct, the Riccardiana Psalter does not fit the narrow definition of Crusader art, despite the fact that it shares many of its characteristics, such as the combination of European and Byzantine imagery.

Richard A. Leson's case study is both similar to and different from Fleck's, yet it also suggests that drawing a sharp line between Eastern and Western production and usage obscures our understanding of the lived realities of the crusades. Leson focuses his attention on a drinking cup, which, he argues, was manufactured in Picardy. He admits, however, that it is not impossible that the cup was made either in Acre or, once again, in Sicily. If Fleck's manuscript was intended to be useful and used in Europe, Leson's drinking cup performed its main intended function in the Holy Land. Specifically, it served to remind the crusading companions of Raoul, Lord of Coucy, of the social ties that his family had traditionally enjoyed. This was intended to ensure that, in the case of their father's death, Raoul's sons would have no difficulties in inheriting their father's domains in the West. Both Fleck's manuscript and Leson's drinking cup bridged the distance between East and West for those who valued them.

While Fleck and Leson demonstrate that Crusader art shared many characteristics with objects and monuments produced elsewhere, other contributors reveal that even when strictly defined, the category encompasses highly diverse specimens. Gil Fishhof's "The Role and Meanings of the Image of St. Peter in the Crusader Sculpture of Nazareth: A New Reading" is dedicated to an example of Crusader art according to its narrowest definition. However, in his analysis of the sculpture of Nazareth, Fishhof finds the most helpful parallels in French Romanesque art. One of the key iconographical subjects of the sculpture at Nazareth is the mission of the apostles. As Katzenellenbogen demonstrated in his study of the central tympanum at Vézelay, the mission was one of the key models for the crusades.¹¹ This must have been the case at Nazareth as well. The key claim presented by the sculpture is that the Church at Nazareth was an apostolic foundation, an assertion also made by similar works in France, of which the Church of St. Trophime in Arles is just one of many examples. Local ecclesiastical authorities believed that this claim, made tangible in major artistic projects, would increase their prestige, power, and wealth. While such claims in France tended to involve legendary founders whom local tradition elevated to the ranks of the original 12 apostles'

contemporaries and intimates, the claim put forward by the bishops of Nazareth was that the See was founded by St. Peter himself.

Fishhof's chapter demonstrates that, at least in some cases, the symbiosis of politics, piety, and artistic production followed similar lines in the East and in the West. In contrast, in "The Frankish Icon: Art and Devotion in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem" Lisa Mahoney emphasizes that Franks of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem were ready to adopt an utterly foreign practice if it best satisfied their devotional needs. Mahoney refutes the traditional assumption that Franks' commissioning or imitations of icons, a Byzantine artistic medium *par excellence*, was simply due to contact between two different cultures. Instead, as Mahoney argues, Franks' adoption of icons was a conscious decision, stemming from the belief that icons could provide direct access to the holy in this place.

This volume also challenges a traditional reliance on certain crusading media. When it comes to crusade-related art produced in the Mediterranean basin, the majority of studies have hereto focused on four types of media: architecture, illuminated manuscripts, sculpture, and icons. There have been fewer studies of mural paintings and mosaics, probably because relatively few examples have survived. When it comes to crusade-related art produced in Northern Europe, the list of usual media is somewhat different: there are no icons, but there are key examples of representations or reflections of crusades on stained glass windows. Ultimately, in both regions the traditional privileging of several types of media over all others reflects modern conceptions of what is "important" and what is not, rather than any objective reality. This volume strives to rectify the misbalance by including two articles dedicated to neglected (at least until recently) types of media: maps and a drinking cup.

Despite recent advances in the study of medieval cartography, there have been few attempts to integrate them into that of crusades.¹² Indeed, as P.D.A. Harvey's chapter, "The Crusaders' Holy Land in Maps," demonstrates, it is difficult to establish a cause and effect relationship between crusading and map production. Only eight regional maps—some in several variations—survive from the two centuries when the crusader states existed. Despite increased contact between East and West in this period, the goal of these maps (and medieval maps in general) was not to facilitate travel, but rather to instruct viewers about the "true" nature of the world through carefully constructed presentations of regional geography, history, and ethnography. To support these aims, the maps drew their information not from travelers' accounts but from the Bible and the works of ancient or early medieval authors, such as Pliny's *Natural History* and the encyclopedic *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville. Only in rare cases were maps produced that were at least somewhat "up to date" and included, for example, names and representations of crusaders' castles. Conveying factual information, however, was the maps' secondary goal; the primary aim was to incite the viewer to meditate upon the divine ordering of the universe.

Although this might lead us to conclude that these maps operated independently from and were not influenced by the crusading enterprise,

this was not necessarily the case. In “The Visual Vernacular: Illustrating Jean de Vignay’s ‘Crusade’ Translations,” Maureen Quigley demonstrates that learning about the East—even from sources that we would deem utterly unreliable or even largely fictional—was often part and parcel of planning an actual crusade. Quigley’s object of study, British Library Royal MS 19 D I, contains a variety of illustrated texts, from travelogues to the history of Alexander the Great to excerpts from the Old Testament. This strange compilation makes sense only in the context of the crusading plans that King Philip VI of Valois entertained between 1333 and 1337. Thus, just as the viewers of maps studied by Harvey meditated upon God’s design for the world, they may have also wondered about the more immediate future of the Holy Land. At least some of them must have used maps or other texts to plan—in spiritual, rather than in strictly practical terms—to become pilgrims or crusaders.

Maps, however, are by no means the most understudied medium when it comes to the crusades and visual culture. Scholars have known for a long time that some examples of so-called “minor arts” convey as much or more information about religion, culture, and politics—both at the time of production and during the period when the object was actively in use—as many of the works that have traditionally attracted the most attention. Leson’s penetrating analysis of a single object, the Resafa Heraldry Cup, illuminates the wealth of information that such artifacts can convey, in no small part thanks to the intimate way that their owners interacted with them. Specimens of “minor arts,” such as the Resafa Heraldry Cup, could be handled in a variety of ways, both mundane and meaningful: touched (with hands or lips), passed from one person to another, elevated, filled with a substance, taken out and put back in, transported from one place to another, etc. In the process, as the context of their use changed, the understanding of such objects also changed. For example, as Leson explains, the meaning of the Resafa Heraldry Cup is fully intelligible only in the context of ritualized courtly drinking, in which its owner undoubtedly engaged while on a crusade.

Even though Leson’s study of the Resafa Heraldry Cup is comprehensive when it comes to a particular moment in its history, further layers of meaning remain outside the scope of his study. As evidenced by an inscription added to the cup at a later date, an Arabic-speaking woman by the name of Zayn al-Dār donated the cup to the Church of the Holy Cross at Resafa-Sergiopolis, where it was appropriated for liturgical use. The meaning that this cup, most probably manufactured in a far-away Picardy and engraved with heraldic shields, held for Zayn and the clergy of the church remains to be elucidated. One hopes that future studies dedicated to the visual culture of the crusades will disregard the traditional hierarchy of sources and will examine more such “minor” works, as well as specimens of material culture.

As the Resafa Heraldry Cup makes clear, the crusades have left a widely varied imprint on visual culture in general terms. Despite contrary assumptions that may be held, only a small portion of works clearly influenced by the crusades contains representations of actual crusading warfare. These include

illustrated chronicles and a very limited number of examples of monumental art.¹³ There were, however, numerous ways to respond to crusading in a more implicit fashion. For instance, there is a series of monuments that probably invite the viewer to make a comparison between contemporary struggles and those of Charlemagne and Roland.¹⁴ And, as Quigley's chapter demonstrates, British Library Royal MS 19 D I drew a comparison between the planned crusade of Philip VI and the campaigns of Alexander the Great in the East (as they were re-imagined by medieval authors). In addition, beginning with Katzenellenbogen, numerous scholars have argued that visual representations of biblical subjects may sometimes allude to crusades. Textual evidence, which abounds in comparisons between crusaders and either Jewish heroes of the Old Testament or the apostles, supports such interpretations.¹⁵ Still, in the vast majority of cases, the very fact that a specific program alludes to crusades is difficult to prove beyond doubt, so that even Katzenellenbogen's minutely argued thesis has been challenged.¹⁶ One has to walk a fine line between seeing the influence of crusades everywhere and refusing to see it anywhere.

Fleck's study of the Riccardiana Psalter explores one type of the influence of crusades on representations of biblical narratives: greater attention being paid to the architectural setting of many of the stories. Before the First Crusade, the representations of the sites in the Holy Land were often based on little other than imagination; after the First Crusade, they began to feature actual structures. Fleck demonstrates that in the Riccardiana Psalter the architectural form of the Holy Sepulcher in the scene of the Women at the Tomb, for example, is similar both to the interior aedicule renovated by crusaders and to the rotunda's dome.

It is important to note, however, that even explicit representations of crusading warfare did not accurately reflect what had happened, but transmitted a highly subjective perspective on the events. In some cases, they used the celebration of the past to express aspirations for the future or even served as pieces of propaganda, whose goal was to help such aspirations come to life. In her chapter, "'If I forget you, O Jerusalem ...': King Philip the Fair, St. George, and Crusade," Esther Dehoux discusses one example of a "direct" (as opposed to metaphorical) representation of crusading. The breviary of King Philip the Fair of France, executed in the late thirteenth century, contains an image of St. George, identified as a crusader by red crosses on his shield and his horse's caparison, entering the city of Jerusalem. Textual sources designate St. George as the patron saint of crusaders and credit him with making several appearances in some of the key battles of the Holy Land, including the siege of Jerusalem of 1099. The image unambiguously represents crusading as holy war not merely supported by God, but, to some extent, waged by him through his agents. Dehoux argues the goal of the image was not just to commemorate the First Crusade, but to present it as a duty of the French monarch, believed to have been chosen by God, to lead a new campaign of this holy war and to attempt to retake Jerusalem. In this, the breviary of King Philip the Fair of France is similar to the British Library Royal MS 19 D I, since both served as propaganda for a French King to embark on a new crusade. Although, in

hindsight, we know that neither Philip the Fair nor Philip VI would go on crusade and that there would be no new *passagium generale*, both manuscripts demonstrate the existence of the belief that a crusade was both desirable and possible.

In the case of the breviary of Philip the Fair, the division between explicit representations of crusading and hidden references to crusading lies not between different objects, but within the same one. According to Dehoux, the image of St. George in the breviary can only be understood in the context of other illuminations in the same manuscript, dedicated to subjects drawn from the Old and the New Testaments, the saint's *Lives*, and historical sources. So, the case of the breviary is not unlike that of the Riccardiana Psalter. Although the message of the two is very different, both the breviary and the Riccardiana Psalter recall events, whether biblical or historical, which have no obvious connection to crusades through the prism of crusading.

Debra Strickland gives a different example of "looking back," both figuratively (at the biblical past) and literally (at earlier pages of the same manuscript). She examines the Westminster Psalter, illustrated around 1200 and most probably commissioned by an abbot or monk of Westminster Abbey. The original artist left several pages blank, which, around 1250, were filled with five full-page drawings. Among these drawings, a representation of a knight with his armor embellished with crosses stands out. Although the knight has long been interpreted as a crusader, Strickland argues that the other four drawings could be also. More importantly, she argues that the addition of the five drawings transformed the meaning of the rest of the Psalter. The patrons and artists did not intend the original Psalter to comment on the crusades. However, half a century later, the five drawings invited the viewer to re-examine the Psalms and to re-interpret them as, at once, justifying and foreshadowing the crusades.

Strickland reminds us about the fluidity of medieval interpretations of the same object, which, many years after it was produced, could acquire—or, one assumes, lose—an association with crusading. At the same time, it is also important to remember that, when it comes to crusading themes in visual culture, there was a good deal of continuity. For example, the association between St. George, kingship, and crusading, which Dehoux located in a thirteenth-century manuscript, persisted into the sixteenth century. A woodcut illustrating an epic poem *Theurdank* contains two pennant representations: one of St. George and another one of Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I, clearly made to resemble the saint. According to Norman Housley in his chapter "Crusading Responses to the Turkish Threat in Visual Culture, 1453–1519," the woodcut, made in 1508, was likely to have been intended to celebrate the crusading league between the emperor, the pope, and the kings of France and of Aragon. Housley notes, however, that this crusade was supposed to be waged not against Muslim Turks, but against Christian Venice. Another of Housley's case studies, the fresco at Olomouc in Moravia, depicts the successful delivery of Belgrade from the Turkish siege in 1468. According to Housley, it should be interpreted, first and foremost, in the context of the continuing struggle

not against the Turks, but against heretical Hussites. Although the volume focuses primarily on crusades against Muslims in the Holy Land, it adheres to the pluralist definition of crusading, according to which the key characteristic of a crusade was papal authorization. This definition contrasts with the traditionalist one, which makes recovery or defense of Jerusalem a *sine qua non* of a crusade. The pluralist definition has allowed crusade historians to expand their field of study both geographically and chronologically. According to this definition, the notion of crusade was a tool that could be and often was applied to a variety of other enemies: polytheists, Cathar heretics, Orthodox Christians, and last but not least, Catholics (such as the Venetians).¹⁷ From the twelfth century onwards, there were always purists who claimed that the crusades fought against anyone other than Muslims were diversions. However, there were also always those who considered different types of crusades as complementary or interchangeable.

Yet although wars against Christians often took precedence over those against the Turks, as Housley's chapter demonstrates, hopes for a full-fledged crusade against the "infidel" persisted well into the early modern period. During this period, the threat was no longer to crusader states, but, as the siege of Belgrade in 1468 made abundantly clear, to Europe itself. Nora S. Lambert's chapter "Reframing the Crusade in the Piccolomini Library: Pinturicchio's 'Standing Turk' in Siena Cathedral, 1502–1508" analyzes a scene depicting the arrival of Pope Pius II, a poet and diplomat better known as Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, in Ancona in 1464 in order to lead a crusade. From a practical perspective, the pope's voyage to Ancona was a dismal failure: he died two days before a small Venetian fleet, the only force willing to take part, had arrived. The scene in the Piccolomini Library, however, presented a much more optimistic, albeit largely imaginary, picture of the enterprise, uniting the pope, the doge of Venice, and the "Despot of Morea," a descendant of the Byzantine Paleologian dynasty, against the Turks. Pinturicchio represented the pope's last undertaking as a promising beginning, which urgently needed to be continued and, hopefully, completed. This must have been the message that the patron of the paintings, Cardinal Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini, a nephew of Pope Pius II, wanted to get across to the viewer at the time when the expansion of the Ottoman Empire was still seemingly inexorable. Clearly, for Cardinal Francesco in the early sixteenth century, crusading was as relevant as ever. Like his uncle, he must have believed that the fate not only of the Christian Church, but also of the cultural achievements of the Renaissance (including the Piccolomini Library) was at stake.

Crusading, however, was not just about conquering or defending territories. Although it is difficult to establish a causal relationship, crusading also shaped and was shaped by religious currents from the late eleventh century well into the early modern and possibly the modern period. As mentioned above, warfare and settlement in the Holy Land brought a heightened interest in the physical locations where almost all of the fundamental events of Christianity took place. This, in turn, led to an increased interest in the literal sense of the Bible. According to Bernard Hamilton, the growth of "affective piety, which

stresses Christ's human weakness rather than his human strengths"—a major development in the religious life of the West—was at least in part the result of throngs of pilgrims who tried to relive the gospel story while physically in Bethlehem or on Golgotha.¹⁸

John Munns supports this hypothesis with his chapter "The Vision of the Cross and the Crusades in England before 1189." According to Munns, pilgrims and crusaders to the Holy Land were, at least to some extent, behind the increased presence of the Passion and especially the Crucifixion in the religious life of England in the twelfth century. Munns surveys diverse manifestations of this cross-centered piety, such as, for example, the development of altars dedicated to the Holy Cross. He also draws attention to a large stone cross with carvings dedicated to the supposed discovery of the True Cross by Empress Helena, which is found in the parish church of Kelloe. It is important to note, however, that crusades both influenced and responded to cross-centered spirituality. After all, Anselm of Canterbury developed his doctrine of atonement, which he systematized in *Cur deus homo*, throughout the 1090s, at almost exactly the same time as the First Crusade was taking place. Both Anselm in his theological endeavors and Pope Urban II in his preaching of the First Crusade reacted—very differently—to the same need for a more active engagement with Christ's Passion. Similarly, the affective desire to respond to the Crucifixion prompted the growth of a crusading culture that both aspired to the *imitatio Christi* and sought vengeance for Christ's suffering.¹⁹

It is equally important to remember that both men and women took part both in developing the new trends in piety at home and in pilgrimage and crusades to the Holy Land. As recent studies have demonstrated, women were involved in actual crusader warfare, particularly in the context of sieges, but their influence was greater away from the battlefield.²⁰ They played a dominant role in transmitting crusading traditions from one family to another and from one generation to the next or, in other words, from their fathers and brothers to their husbands and sons.²¹ Two of the chapters in the present volume deal with women's contribution to the production of visual culture related to crusading. In her "Pictorial and Sculptural Commemoration of Returning or Departing Crusaders," Nurith Kenaan-Kedar gives three examples of women in charge of preserving and publicly commemorating the memory of any crusading ventures that they or their family members accomplished or even just planned. The first woman, Countess Aigeline de Bourgogne, was likely the patron of the famous sculpted group known as *Le retour du croisé*, which features herself and her husband as an embracing couple. The sculpture clearly identifies the husband, Hugues de Vaudemont, as a crusader by a pilgrim's staff, a pilgrim's bag, and a cross on his chest. The second woman, Blanche of Navarre, countess of Champagne, was another widow who erected a monument to her husband, Thibaut III. Like many other figures discussed in this volume, Thibaut III was only a prospective crusader: he died just as he was about to lead what was to become the Fourth Crusade. Similarly to Hugues, Thibaut carries a pilgrim's staff and a bag decorated with

a cross. The case of Mahaut of Courtenay, the third woman, was even more remarkable. She commissioned a monument to herself, in which she features alone, without any male relative. The cross she holds serves as a reminder of her participation in the Fifth Crusade.

Although Mahaut was hardly the only woman who took part in a crusade in the thirteenth century, the attempts to streamline the fighting forces made it more difficult for non-combatants to go on a crusade. Women, however, continued to go on pilgrimages and also on virtual pilgrimages. It is significant that the Riccardiana Psalter discussed by Fleck was in the possession of a nun early on in its history and was likely to have been commissioned by another nun as well. Since their chances of visiting the Holy Land were limited, these nuns could visualize these monuments and meditate upon them thanks to manuscript illuminations.

As the temporal, geographic, and media scope of the contributions included in this volume demonstrate, the visual record of crusading in the European West was as vast and complex as the notion of crusade itself. By no means the final word on the subject, *The Crusades and Visual Culture* serves as a crucial first step towards the integration of crusading history and the study of medieval visual cultures. Given the broad range of materials explored, geographies traversed, and periods represented in the collected contributions, it aims to introduce new methodologies and highlight new evidence for the study of the crusades across the disciplines. Through lamentable omissions, it also exposes significant research avenues in need of increased scholarly attention, especially in regard to the visualization and/or appropriation of crusading themes in non-Western (i.e., Eastern Christian, Muslim, and Jewish) visual culture in the Middle Ages and beyond. This volume thus ultimately hopes to engender new dialogues among crusade scholars, students, and enthusiasts alike, as well as to inspire innovative, interdisciplinary research in this rapidly evolving field.

Notes

- 1 For an overview of the text versus image debate among art historians, see Elizabeth Sears, "Reading Images," in *Reading Medieval Images: The Art Historian and the Object*, (ed.) Elizabeth Sears and Thelma K. Thomas (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2002), pp. 1–7.
- 2 Marita Sturken, "Visual Culture," *Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online* (Oxford University Press). Available at: <http://www.oxfordartonline.com.public/book/oaogao> [September 13, 2013].
- 3 Whitney Davis, *A General Theory of Visual Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), p. 230.
- 4 Norman Bryson, Michael Ann Holly, and Keith Moxey (eds), "Introduction," in *Visual Culture: Images and Interpretations* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1994), p. xv.
- 5 W.J.T. Mitchell, "Interdisciplinarity and Visual Culture," *Art Bulletin* 77 (1995): pp. 540–41.
- 6 Among many others, see Lesley Lawton, "The Illustration of Late Medieval Secular Texts, with Special Reference to Lydgate's 'Troy Book,'" in *Manuscripts and Readers in Fifteenth-Century England* (ed.) Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1983), pp. 41–69; Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992); Brigitte Buettner, "Profane Illuminations, Secular Illusions: Manuscripts in Late Medieval

- Courtly Society," *The Art Bulletin* 74, no. 1 (1992): pp. 75–90; Joan A. Holladay, "The Education of Jeanne d'Evreux: Personal Piety and Dynastic Salvation in her Book of Hours," *Art History* 17, no. 4 (1994): pp. 585–611; Jonathan J. G. Alexander, "Art History, Literary History, and the Study of Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts," *Studies in Iconography* 18 (1997): pp. 51–66; Katrin Kogman-Appel, "Jewish Art and Non-Jewish Culture: The Dynamics of Artistic Borrowing in Medieval Hebrew Manuscript Illumination," *Jewish History* 15, no. 3 (2001): pp. 187–234; Markus I. Cruse, "The 'Roman d'Alexandre' in MS Bodley 264: Text, Image, Performance" (PhD dissertation, New York University, 2005).
- 7 Adolf Katzenellenbogen, "The Central Tympanum at Vézelay: Its Encyclopedic Meaning and Its Relation to the First Crusade," *The Art Bulletin* 26, no. 3 (1944): pp. 141–51.
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The Frankish Icon: Art and Devotion in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem

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For Rhonda Saad

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The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem is said to have been formed in 1099 with the conquest of the city by Crusader armies and to have been lost in 1291 with the fall of Acre to the Egyptian Mamluks. In point of fact, however, things were more complicated; the “kingdom” had no king until 1100, for example, and Jerusalem itself had been lost in 1187 and again in 1244, this time for good. Such details do not provide us with a complete picture of this kingdom, but they do point to the complicated political and geographic realities that defined it. In essential ways, the Latin Kingdom’s material culture tells a complementary story. The iconography and legends of coins and seals, for example, indicate the vagaries of rule while the style of manuscript miniatures indicates shifting workshop demographics and, ultimately, shifting capitals. But material remains were also important in creating the very idea of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. Coins and seals do this in obvious ways, connecting the Franks through text and image to an eastern landscape; other material remains do so more obliquely. An example of the latter is the Frankish icon. That it too participated in the invention of this kingdom is suggested by its popularity or, rather, by its popularity despite its extra-Latin-rite standing.¹ In other words, the phenomenon that is the Frankish icon is also the phenomenon of new artistic and religious traditions within the Latin Kingdom. The project at hand seeks to understand its significance as such.

As an object type, and not a Greek word for image, the icon is a wooden panel that contains the representation of a holy figure, holy figures, or a sacred scene, usually in paint, on a gold ground.² The origin and home of the icon is the Christian East, where in public contexts it played an essential role in announcing feast days, populating processions, and directing prayer, and in private contexts simply directed prayer.³ More than most religious objects, the icon abides by strict conventions in matters of form and iconography, for its efficacy depends on them.⁴

Although in evidence in twelfth-century Frankish contexts, it is really in the thirteenth century that the Franks truly appropriate this object type

for themselves. The nature of this appropriation is vexing. In order to truly understand it, it would be necessary to know, for example, to what extent the Franks were commissioning and producing icons and to what extent they were purchasing ready-made local icons, to what extent long-term inhabitants consumed icons and to what extent short-term inhabitants (i.e. pilgrims) consumed icons. Unfortunately, such determinations cannot be made absolutely. And yet things are not so bleak. The difficult task of identifying Frankish creations, typically by their “hybrid” nature (here a nature defined by the presence of both western and eastern elements), and of associating painting styles with discrete workshops that was begun by Kurt Weitzmann has been and continues to be refined by scholars such as Robin Cormack and Stavros Mihalarias, Jaroslav Folda, Nada Hélou, Lucy-Anne Hunt, and Mat Immerzeel.⁵ Studies like these yield two important outcomes. On the one hand, they identify Frankish involvement as artists in the production of icons, with major workshops in Acre, Sinai, and Lydda proposed. On the other hand, they identify Frankish involvement as patrons in the production of icons, showing that even at this remove and even when indigenous artists were involved, the Franks affected icon form.⁶

While Frankish icons have also inspired investigations into the role of women in the Latin East, for example, and the transmission of the icon format to Italy, for another, most scholarship on Frankish icons is, in fact, dedicated to questions of style and, accordingly, determinations of date, of place of manufacture, and of the ethnicity of artists.⁷ Although Weitzmann was quick to point out the special status of the icon in the East over panel painting in the West, there have been relatively few attempts to discern the function of this exotic object in a Latin-rite context.⁸ Notable exceptions include Jaroslav Folda, who has proposed that the larger icons became altarpieces in Frankish hands; Annemarie Weyl Carr, who has proposed that the smaller icons (the majority) were largely dedicatory and testify to a “falling-in” with local pilgrimage habits more than an adoption of the icon as such; and David Jacoby, who has advocated a short-term inhabitant consumer, suggesting that icons were sent to St. Catherine’s Monastery at Sinai on behalf of pilgrims who could not make the long journey to this sacred destination themselves.⁹ Although dealing with function, both Carr and Jacoby also account in different ways for the large number of Frankish icons held at Sinai today.

As indicated at the outset, my treatment of the Frankish icon also begins from the recognition that this object type does not fit neatly into pre-existing Frankish artistic or religious practices.¹⁰ We might recall specifically that the icon belonged instead to the Christian East, where its form and function were defined by a long and robust tradition. Historiographically, the situation of the Latin Kingdom, which encouraged contact with eastern Christendom, has provided a justification for the emergence of the icon among the Franks and a framework for understanding details of its appearance and matters of its function. In other words, the premise has long held that in the East the Franks became acquainted with the icon and so started making them and using them. This chapter attempts to find in addition an *explanation* for the

emergence of the icon among the Franks. It does so through two works that might be treated as representative, in so far as their Frankish manufacture can be firmly assigned, as they show a characteristic degree of iconographical and compositional variety, and they picture a range of holy figures. In so doing, this chapter also proposes a reconception of the object as a whole, or rather the details of its appearance and matters of its function, endeavoring to show that in the hands of the Franks the icon was in fact a highly self-conscious creation and accordingly a *sui generis* object type.

The first of the two representative Frankish icons under investigation is a wood panel just over nine inches in height containing the painted figures of the mounted soldier saints Theodore and Demetrios on a gold ground and within a rocky landscape (Figure 1.1). The portraits correspond specifically to Byzantine types in aspects of costume and hair, including the cleft of St. Theodore's beard, which indicates that he is Theodore the General (Stratelates) and not Theodore the Recruit.¹¹ Still finer points of Byzantine artistic conventions are observable in the style of the rocky outcroppings and the technique of building flesh up from a green underlayer of paint. That this icon is Frankish, however, is confirmed above all by the saints' wide stares and pinpoint pupils as well as the thin line that runs from eye corners toward the ears.¹² These are features common to much of the Frankish art of the thirteenth century. Most importantly, they are features found in a manuscript now in Perugia,¹³ which is one of the few portable objects certainly produced in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and so a kind of linchpin for the attribution of others.¹⁴ Remains of inscriptions identifying the saints in Greek are found to either side of the halos.

The second icon is a wood panel just over 13 inches in height containing the painted figures of Sts Paul, James the Greater, and Stephen on the top, and Sts Lawrence, Martin of Tours, and Leonard (of Limoges) on the bottom (Figure 1.2). They too appear upon a gold ground, although without additional indicators of setting. These figures have been rendered in a Byzantinizing style and positioned frontally in keeping with Byzantine convention, but their unprecedented arrangement within the panel's field and the strange emphasis on St. James—at top center—betray the involvement of an otherwise trained artist; what's more, the inclusion of western saints betrays the involvement of a Latin-rite patron.¹⁵ In this icon, a Latin inscription identifies each of the likenesses.

I have already mentioned that the icon is properly at home among the indigenous communities of the Christian East. Of these indigenous eastern communities, Byzantium is most often found to provide the approximate model and inspiration for the Frankish icon, and for this reason the Frankish icon is typically understood as a subset of the Byzantine icon specifically. Given this, it is useful to return to the requirements of this particular medium in the East that were outlined at the beginning of this article. Annemarie Weyl Carr describes icons as "panel paintings on a golden ground" containing images that are "venerated as holy in the Orthodox Church."¹⁶ Carr's conveniently stripped-down definition technically refers to issues both of appearance



1.1 Icon with Saints Theodore and Demetrios, 23.7 × 16.1 cm, Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, c. 1250 (Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai, App. No. 40/386). Courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expeditions to Mount Sinai.



1.2 Icon with Saints Paul, James the Greater, and Stephen (top) and Lawrence, Martin, and Leonard (bottom), 33.3 × 23.7 cm, Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, before 1187 (Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai, App. No. 39/383). Courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expeditions to Mount Sinai.

and of function, but we might take from it strictly those claims related to appearance—namely, the format of a panel, the technique of painting, the surface of gold, and the subject of the holy.¹⁷ In terms of the latter, it is worth adding that the holy subject of this eastern art was “almost invariably” identified by an inscription.¹⁸

To be sure, there is an undeniable likeness between the Frankish and the Byzantine icon. Each of the Frankish works reproduced here is a panel with a painting on a golden surface of a holy subject that has been labeled. The affinity between the Frankish and the Byzantine traditions is made all the more striking by iconographic and stylistic resemblances. However, there is an important disadvantage to understanding the Frankish icon as simply a subset of the Byzantine icon, for in so doing we run the risk of precipitately imposing the meaning of the one onto the other. That is, we too readily assume the Frankish icon appeared as it did because it followed the pattern of some available exemplar and because it was meant to function in an analogous manner. As such, the different points of comparison that have been highlighted here effectively converge into a single and cohesive mass that of necessity moves together. What’s more, the Frankish enthusiasm for this object type can be explained as simply a natural byproduct of an environment that made such objects familiar and, accordingly, made workshops produce them and made consumers purchase them. In short, understanding the Frankish icon as a subset of the Byzantine icon allows us to think we know something we could in fact know better. I propose that we look at the Frankish icon just a bit differently. In thinking about the icon within this new context—that is, the context of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem—we should ask why the Franks chose to embrace this object type and why, in so doing, they chose to give to it a certain Byzantine flavor. In other words, we should begin by asking those questions not asked when we understand the manufacture of Frankish icons as merely the consequence of contact and not, therefore, the consequence of deliberation and decision-making.

In the West, Byzantium had long been assumed to have a special spiritual status, a special closeness with the divine. Such a perception was largely the result of its control of certain relics—above all those related to Christ’s Passion.¹⁹ That Byzantium’s elevated and enviable position might be made material is suggested by objects such as the Limburg Staurothek and the Stavelot Triptych.²⁰ The Limburg Staurothek is a Byzantine reliquary that was made in the tenth century in Constantinople. It is principally a container for large fragments of the True Cross, although it houses other smaller relics as well.²¹ This staurothek arrived in the West following the sack of Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade and almost immediately influenced the form of other reliquaries made in the area.²² The Stavelot Triptych is a western-made container and frame for two Byzantine triptychs that protect relics of the True Cross.²³ In this instance, the value of the Byzantine forms becomes explicit not only in their preservation, but also in their presentation as necessary counterparts to the relics they themselves present.²⁴ Admittedly, the Limburg Staurothek and Stavelot Triptych are complicated objects, esteemed for such

factors as the contexts of their acquisition and the value of their materials.²⁵ But, as forms from the spiritually privileged East and as forms attached to sacred remains, they came to signify sanctity, and for this capacity were esteemed all the more.²⁶ The artistic possibilities born of this equation between substance and the insubstantial would reach their zenith in Venice after the Fourth Crusade's conquest of Constantinople, when locally manufactured objects were presented outright as if Byzantine originals.²⁷

In the East and within the immediate context of Frankish icon production, examples of the Byzantine pictorial tradition were found in the most holy places of Christendom—the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem and the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem. Upon the walls of these structures that had been charged with enveloping the sites of Christ's Crucifixion, Resurrection, and Birth were scenes, for example, of the Anastasis (known in the West as the Harrowing of Hell) and of the Adoration of the Magi. The scenes themselves are now lost, but their relationship to the Byzantine forms at issue here is assured by descriptions in medieval texts and the dates of creation they secure.²⁸ The embellishment of holy sites with such pictorial forms was a testament to the custodial honors that had been Byzantium's for centuries.

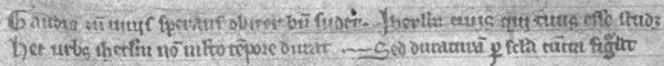
Taken together, we begin to see what the Byzantine artistic tradition, or elements thereof, might represent in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, and thereby to understand why it might have influenced the latter's artistic productions. On the one hand, the Byzantine artistic tradition was associated with a specific geographical area, namely the Christian lands in the east; on the other hand, the Byzantine tradition was associated with privileged sacred loci, whether of relics or of place. With this in mind, we might consider the subjects of Sts Theodore and Demetrios and Sts Paul, James, and Stephen as the final clue in decoding the Byzantine framework of these panels (Figures 1.1 and 1.2). The defining characteristic of these saints is their connection to the Levant. Theodore and Demetrios were military saints extremely popular not in the West but in the East; St. Demetrios was the patron saint of Thessalonike, the region of his martyrdom, and St. Theodore the General had been martyred and buried to the south of the Black Sea in modern Turkey.²⁹ Sts Paul, James, and Stephen (those saints emphasized by their arrangement in the top register) are all saints with a special relationship to the city of Jerusalem—James had been martyred in Jerusalem and Stephen was its first bishop, for example. An interest in saints identified specifically with the eastern Mediterranean is in fact a hallmark of the Frankish icon in general. Thus among the "local holy" St. George also appears, whose remains were buried in the coastal plain of Lydda, as does St. Symeon the Stylite, whose ascetic column was located just outside Syrian Aleppo, St. Catherine, whose remains were located in the Sinai, and St. Marina (presumably of Antioch), whose birthplace was located in Syrian Antioch.³⁰ The list goes on. When considered alongside the panel format and the Byzantinizing elements, this host of newly embraced saints indicates that the Franks very carefully situated devotion and the artistic traditions that complemented it in the peculiar conditions of the east. In this

light, the details of their appearance—details that include style, iconography, inscription—seem to function like words in a pictorial language (albeit one less rigorously rule-governed) designed to ensure communication with the holy in this place.

The fact that each of these components is deliberate and meaningful rather than merely the unconsidered residue of models copied or a tradition learned is strongly suggested by a comparison between our icons and a twelfth-century map of Jerusalem now in The Hague (Figure 1.3).³¹ This map represents a specifically Frankish Jerusalem—so declared by the new names applied to old structures (the Dome of the Rock, for example, has been labeled the *Templum Domini*)—together with a scene of two military saints, Sts Demetrios and George, who vanquish an unidentified, abstract enemy. In this instance the saints contain no Byzantinizing features, and I would argue that this is because their function on this page is essentially political and distinctly non-devotional—they simply recall the physical presence of these saints in the battles that founded the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.³²

That this Byzantine flavor was calculated is further borne out by a consideration of medium—the panel format itself. It should be stated that the icon as a feature of the Levant is mentioned only rarely in the many pilgrimage guides and chronicles that document experiences there during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This is somewhat surprising given the marriages that brought Orthodox brides and their devotional sympathies into the orbit of the Latin-rite Franks and, even more, given the presence of sacred spaces that come to be shared by Orthodox locals and Latin-rite Franks, such as the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem.³³ Still, the predominant absence of this subject means that we do not know the extent to which a Frank came into contact with icons while in the east. We do know, however, that a Frank might come into contact with certain icons, miraculous icons.³⁴ The most famous of these seems to have been the icon of Our Lady of Saidnaya (sometimes Sardenay), located in an Orthodox convent near Damascus. It is described first by Burchard of Strasbourg, the ambassador to Frederick Barbarossa, who visited the convent around 1175. He tells us that the panel was made in Constantinople and that its painted likeness of the Virgin had “become incarnate” such that “oil ... unceasingly flow[ed] from it. By which oil many Christians, Saracens and Jews [were] often cured of ailments.”³⁵ The fame of another well-known miracle-working icon of the Virgin, this one located in Constantinople itself, is described in the chronicle of Robert of Clari, a French knight who participated in the Fourth Crusade and its conquest of the Byzantine capital; Robert reports that the object was carried into battle by the Byzantine emperors and guaranteed victory.³⁶ Although, these stories of miracles deal specifically with icons of the Virgin, they indicate something far more general—that this medium was a powerful, confirmed site of interaction with the divine.³⁷

Within this meaningful sea of kinship, there is also a *sui generis* character to the Frankish icon that becomes clear when we not only attend to quotations of a Byzantine artistic tradition, but also, and more importantly, mark the fact that



1.3 Map of Frankish Jerusalem, 1170 (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 76 F5).
The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek.

these quotations were always just that. That is, there was never any attempt to imitate the Byzantine icon comprehensively or perfectly.³⁸ Indeed, it seems to have been as important that aspects of “western” traditions remain present and recognizable (although unfashionable, I use the term “western” to refer to those aspects that were found originally in the West and to distinguish these aspects from the “Frankish” tradition, which is at least in part the coming together of Byzantine and western traditions). In the examples reproduced here, we could point to Demetrios’s long tunic as one such western aspect or to Latin inscriptions as another, not to mention the presence of western saints. These details might seem small and insignificant at first glance, but in fact they define and necessitate the recognition of a new object type, and particularly so if we recall that strict formal and iconographic conventions governed the Byzantine icon.

I would like to propose that *this* object type, the Frankish icon, also belonged to its own peculiar devotional tradition. In the study of Frankish art, it is customary to point to those features connected intrinsically to the environs of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, rather than to those connected to the regions from which its members, long- or short-term, came. But there can be little doubt that the non-local components of Frankish art were equally important and determining carriers of meaning. In our consideration of the Frankish icon’s appearance, it is the non-Byzantine character that points to the Byzantine as worthy of investigation, while simultaneously making these objects and the saints they present accessible to a culturally and religiously specific audience of non-indigenous, Latin-rite Christians. In what follows, the non-Byzantine character of the Frankish icon will also help us better understand its function.

Indeed, there are two defining and, ultimately, peculiar characteristics of the Frankish icon that illuminate its function. The first is size, the second modern location. Unlike the Byzantine icon, the size of which routinely varied between a matter of feet and a matter of inches depending on its context of use (whether primarily public or primarily private), the Frankish icon is typically small, measuring around one foot.³⁹ The regularity of its small scale suggests that private use and true portability were fundamental, governing concerns in its manufacture. Also unlike the Byzantine icon, most Frankish icons were discovered at the Monastery of St. Catherine in the Sinai.⁴⁰ If we are allowed to read this present location as an original location, it is the only evidence available that joins the Frankish panel with a context of “use” in the Levant. When brought together with the implications of its standard size, this address, or context of “use,” indicates that the Frankish icon functioned principally as a votive offering, in other words as a gift offered to a designated holy person or persons in advance of or in return for a wish fulfilled.⁴¹ Such a conclusion demonstrates already that the Frankish icon was functionally distinct from the Byzantine icon. I do not intend to say that the Byzantine icon was not also sometimes votive, for it was, but rather that the Byzantine icon participated in its religious culture to a degree more varied and broad than did the Frankish icon.⁴²

The identification of Frankish icons with *ex-votos* is not mine alone. Weitzmann and Folda have noted that this was certainly at least one of their functions.⁴³ And, of course, Jacoby has added that these objects made the trip from Acre to Sinai in the stead of pilgrims, while Carr has suggested that they were offered at this important holy site in the desert in imitation of a coeval and local eastern Christian tradition.⁴⁴

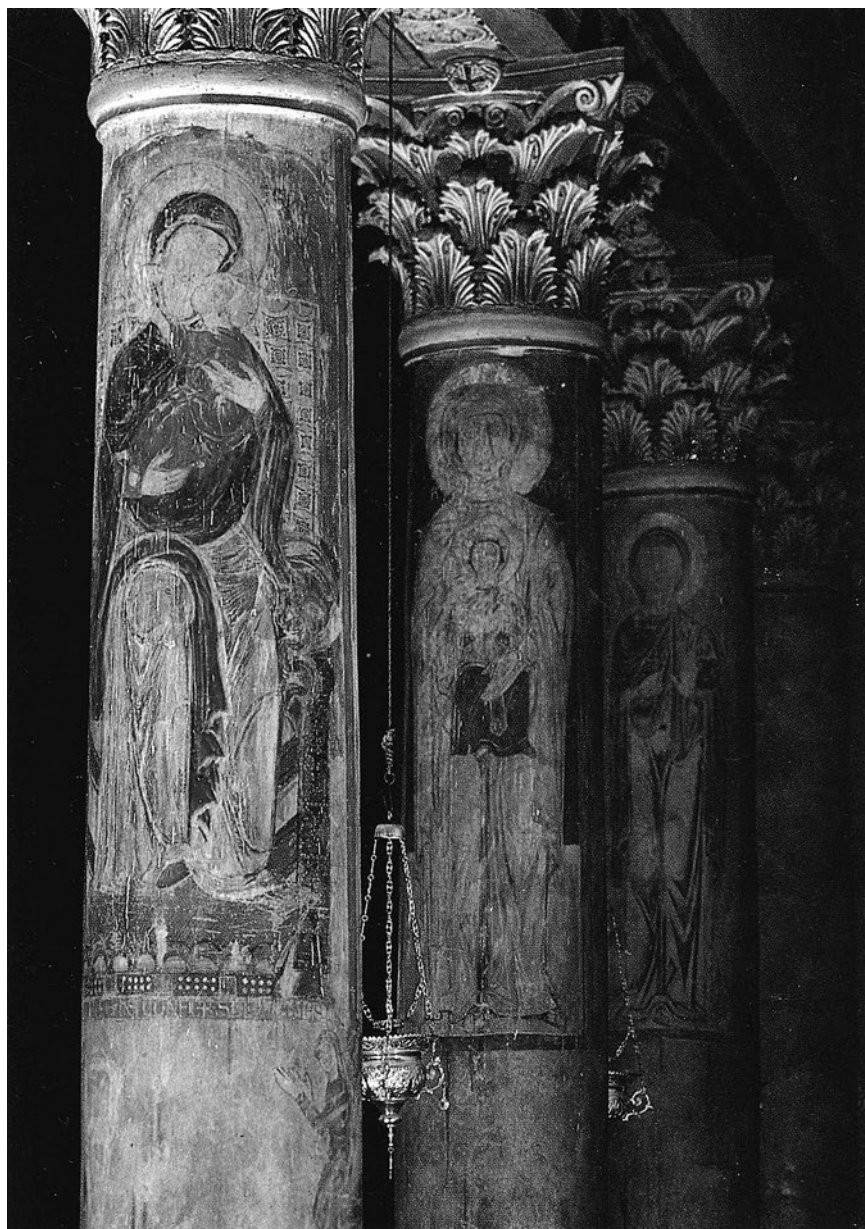
A fuller discussion of function, to which we now turn, is rooted in these assessments and directed by the previous point concerning the distinct character of the Frankish icon. Given the fact that the Monastery of St. Catherine served as a large repository of icons in general, Frankish and Byzantine alike, it is compelling to locate the impetus for this particular merger—the votive panel and Sinai—within the monastery itself. Generally speaking, however, those contemporary Byzantine icons found at St. Catherine’s and thought to be votive contain representations of holy personages that are themselves in some way connected with this particular holy site—representations of Moses because of his visions of God on the mountain, of the Virgin because of the bush that burned here without being consumed, foreshadowing the coming of Christ and continuing to flourish in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (and to this day), etc.⁴⁵ While some Frankish icons contain likenesses that fall in line with their contemporary Byzantine counterparts in this respect, very many do not.⁴⁶ All of the icons referred to in this article, for example, were found at St. Catherine’s. Yet, with the exception of that picturing St. Catherine, whose remains were located here and to whom the monastery came to be dedicated, and St. Marina, who had a small chapel at the monastery, none of these icons as a whole is so evidently related to this site (Figures 1.1 and 1.2).⁴⁷ This remains true even if we consider the fact that the monastery will eventually contain a chapel to St. Symeon.⁴⁸ Now, within the Orthodox tradition, a mixture of panel painting subject types is easily reconciled with the mixture of purposes served, whether as an offering, an inducement to private prayer, or an element of the liturgy. Indeed, it is according to this principle that we understand the monastery’s collection of Byzantine icons, which are themselves disparate in their subjects and, more to the point, not uniformly inspired in their content by the site of their “residence.” But such an explanation is not easily applied to the Frankish icons, since their panel size is relatively homogeneous and their role in daily or liturgical rituals is not in evidence.⁴⁹ That is, the defining characteristics of the Frankish icon make it ultimately unlike the Byzantine icon in practice and thus motivate the search for a different model.

This search brings us to Bethlehem and its Church of the Nativity, where side aisles are supported by a number of marble columns containing in their uppermost sections the painted likenesses of holy figures. All of these paintings are dated to the first century of Latin occupation in the Levant. An inscription accompanying and integral to a portrait of the Virgin gives the year 1130 and a *terminus post quem* for the group; another inscription (this one in Arabic) accompanying the portrait of St. Fusca gives the year 1192, referencing the Christian loss of the site and providing a *terminus ante quem*

for the group (Figures 1.4 and 1.5).⁵⁰ In scope these dates match the years during which Bethlehem was firmly in the hands of the Franks.

At first blush, one imagines these columns to belong to a venerable Christian tradition that was particularly robust in the east, where saints cover weight-bearing surfaces in literal and symbolic support of the church. And yet there is an emphatically unprogrammatic character to these Bethlehem paintings. This character is most obvious in their arrangement within the space of the church (they appear on all of the nave columns but only some of

1.4 Column painting of the Virgin *Glykophilousa* (with donors), Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem, 1130. After Gustav Kühnel, *Wall Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1988), pl. III/4.



the side aisle columns and most columns contain a single painting but two contain two) and in their subject matter and detail (some holy figures only appear once but others appear two times or more, some appear in landscapes but others do not, some are pictured seated but others stand).⁵¹ This unprogrammatic character aligns the painted columns with a tradition of votive offerings, rather than a tradition of church decorative programs, where randomness and heterogeneity are easily attributed to the number and diversity of patrons.⁵² This understanding of the columns finds additional support in the occasional appearance of donors and their entreaties (Figure 1.4).⁵³

The paintings on these columns are comparable to the Frankish icon in important ways. On the one hand, they too join Byzantine and western artistic traditions, with the Byzantine tradition affecting matters of style, iconography, and inscription.⁵⁴ Excellent examples of the latter include the Virgin *Glykophilousa*, despite the presence of exclusively Latin inscriptions, because it so clearly attempts to imitate an actual Byzantine icon of this iconographic type with only moderate success (note the disproportionate knees), and St. Fusca, a western saint depicted as a Byzantine “martyr-saint” and identified with Greek (and Latin) inscriptions (Figures 1.4 and 1.5).⁵⁵ On the other hand, the paintings on these columns seem similarly inspired by the Byzantine panel itself. We might point to the unlikely marriage of paint and polished limestone, which remain only very tenuously bonded to one other, as one indicator of this inspiration. Another, more concrete indicator of this inspiration is the unusual presence of a frame surrounding most of the portraits (see, for example, Figures 1.4 and 1.5).⁵⁶ Thus, at least in a superficial way, these paintings seem equivalent to the Frankish icon. Moreover, just like the Frankish icons, the painted columns contain a mixture of explicitly local and western holy types, some of which seem specifically related to this holy site but most of which do not (see Figure 1.4 for an example of the former and Figure 1.5 for an example of the latter). This correspondence in subject matter shows the Frankish icon tradition



1.5 Column painting of St. Fusca, Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem, twelfth century. After Kühnel, *Wall Painting*, pl. XXX/50.

to be more like the Bethlehem painted column tradition than the Byzantine icon tradition at Sinai, despite the incongruity of their mediums. The accumulation of elements that peculiarly define the columns at Bethlehem also peculiarly define the icons, and in so doing they suggest an analogous and ultimately explicitly Frankish devotional tradition. The site of Bethlehem and the paintings found upon its columns reveal an association between votives and sites of privileged sanctity that dates almost to the inception of the Latin Kingdom itself. Even though this devotional practice came to be marked by forms eastern in their inspiration—at Bethlehem as well as at Sinai—we might best understand the impulse at its heart as one that the Latin Christians brought with them.⁵⁷

This final point raises the question of agency and intention in these Frankish productions. It is a question that routinely resists answers, and more so in contexts such as this, where the involvement of residents of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and pilgrims to the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem is not a thing easily untangled, even when donors are pictured.⁵⁸ Claims regarding the involvement of artists are easier and more rewarding, as they root their objects and the conditions that defined them immediately and fundamentally within the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.⁵⁹ To put it simply, the artists connect the objects they make to this place. Such a declaration does not come without its own baggage, for the ethnicity of artists remains something undeterminable. What we can determine, however, is training, a training that can be identified in areas affirming knowledge and comfort rather than the opposite. With these panels and columns, that training is clearly Frankish. And thus, even if a painting, whether on wood or limestone, is commissioned by a short-term resident in the Latin Kingdom, its form remains a product of the Latin Kingdom. The same must be said of function. For, though the *ex-voto* tradition is not new to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries of the Holy Land, the *ex-voto* tradition here described, one exclusively in evidence at Bethlehem and Sinai, and not other important Christian sites such as Jerusalem, is distinct and so inherently a tradition of the Latin Kingdom.⁶⁰

What exactly is this tradition of the Latin Kingdom, then? The nature of these sites, joined through these particular devotional works, points to the reason for their unique status as recipients of offerings. Both sites are places of encounter with the divine and, as such, proven axes between the earthly and the heavenly realms: at the Church of the Nativity God appeared in the flesh and at the Monastery of St. Catherine God appeared in sound and fire.⁶¹ That this was the perceived value of each of these sites is confirmed by material records of communication (on panels and columns). It may even be supported in specific works found at each location. In the northwest corner chapel of the Church of the Nativity, a twelfth-century Deësis scene, rarely found in Frankish settings, models the desired intercession.⁶² In the nave, the painting of the Virgin *Glykophilousa* diagrams the movement of prayer from donors, who implore “Virgo c[a]lestis confer solatia m[a]lestis/O Heavenly Virgin grant solace to the needy,” to which she responds “Fili q[ui] vere D[eu]s es p[re]cor his m[un]dis[er]ere/To the Son, the true God, be merciful to these distressed

ones" (Figure 1.4).⁶³ And, of course, in the sanctuary of St. Catherine's, a wall of early Byzantine mosaics shows Moses enjoying a certain contact with God through stone tablets and a burning bush, while the apostles John, Peter, and James (together with Moses and Elijah) confront the divine face to face in a scene of the Transfiguration.⁶⁴ Given the extent of their similarities and the difference in date of the works that defined them, it is easy to imagine that the Bethlehem and Sinai devotional traditions never existed simultaneously. Rather, as access to the Church of the Nativity became difficult at best and impossible at worst toward the end of the twelfth century, the tradition was moved to the Monastery of St. Catherine.

All together, these paragraphs show the Frankish icon to be a self-conscious adaptation of artistic and devotional practices in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. Such a revelation is the result of attending to the strangeness of this object type in its particular cultural and religious context. In so doing, this strangeness appears as the consequence of a history of contact with Byzantine forms linked with the sacred—whether relics, *loca sancta*, or miraculous portraits—and, more importantly, with the locally efficacious. And so grounds surface for understanding the enthusiasm with which the Franks began to produce painted panels and for understanding the logic that governed the presentation of their subjects. What we can conclude from the lines of this study is that Byzantine-ness was a required ingredient of a devotional object, for a certain language of forms—forms found in format, style, iconography, and inscription—ensured access to the holy in this particular place. The fact that communication was the primary purpose of these objects is made manifest by their destination, left at (or delivered to) Sinai as placeholders of pious petition or gratitude. In thinking about the appearance and use of the Frankish icon, however, it is highlighting the persistence of "western" traditions that allows for their final, full illumination. In this light, these panels and their holy figures announce difference—a distinction from local practices—and participate in the articulation of the new features of a new community in this old place.

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hand, from the comments of Annemarie Weyl Carr and Jaroslav Folda; I thank them for so generously sharing with me their expertise and their time.

Notes

- 1 Frankish icons have been numbered around 150, about 120 of which are single panels, the type that will be considered here, and not diptychs, triptychs, or iconostasis beams. Jaroslav Folda provides the most comprehensive list of Frankish icons in *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, from the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 531–59.
- 2 This description is based on Annemarie Weyl Carr's "Images: Expressions of Faith and Power," in *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)*, (ed.) Helen C. Evans (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), p. 143; less commonly an icon might also be made of ivory, mosaic, or metal.
- 3 In lieu of copious citations, see the "Painted Icons" entry in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 978–80, which offers a concise discussion of icon use in Byzantium and additional bibliography.
- 4 See Henry Maguire, *The Icons of Their Bodies: Saints and Their Images in Byzantium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).
- 5 Weitzmann is responsible for assembling the main corpus of Frankish icons: "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons on Mount Sinai," *Art Bulletin* 45 (1963): pp. 179–203; "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 20 (1966): pp. 49–83; and "Four Icons on Mount Sinai: New Aspects in Crusader Art," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 21 (1972): pp. 279–93. An additional icon of St. George was attributed to the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem by Cormack and Mihalarias, who also proposed Lydda as a place of icon manufacture: "A Crusader Painting of St. George: 'maniera greca' or 'lingua franca'?" *The Burlington Magazine* 126 (1984): pp. 132–41. Folda has used chrysography in particularly compelling ways to identify the ethnicity of artists: "Byzantine Chrysography in Crusader Art and Italian *Maniera Greca* Painting," in *Anathemata Eortika: Studies in Honor of Thomas F. Mathews*, (ed.) Joseph D. Alchermes (Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2009): pp. 160–66; see also his volume, *Byzantine Art and Italian Panel Painting: The Virgin and Child Hodegetria and the Art of Chrysography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015). Hélou, Hunt, and Immerzeel have made major contributions to the field in their reassignment of Frankish icons to eastern Christian artists. See, for example, Hélou, "L'icône bilatérale de la vierge de Kaftoun au Liban: une oeuvre d'art syro-byzantin à l'époque des croisés," *Chronos* 7 (2003): pp. 101–31; Hunt, "A Woman's Prayer to St. Sergios in Latin Syria: Interpreting a Thirteenth-Century Icon at Sinai," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 15 (1991): pp. 96–145; Immerzeel, "Divine Cavalry: Mounted Saints in Middle Eastern Christian Art," in *East and West in the Crusader States: Context, Contacts, and Confrontations III*, (ed.) Krijnie Ciggaar and Herman Teule (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 2003): pp. 265–86 and "Holy Horsemen and Crusader Banners: Equestrian Saints in Wall Paintings in Lebanon and Syria," *Eastern Christian Art in Its Late Antique and Islamic Contexts* 1 (2004): pp. 29–60.
- 6 The indigenous artists in question were eastern Christians in Lebanon and Syria; see Hélou, "L'icône bilatérale de la vierge," Hunt, "A Woman's Prayer to St. Sergios," and Immerzeel, "Divine Cavalry" and "Holy Horsemen and Crusader Banners."
- 7 On the role of women in the Latin East, see Hunt, "A Woman's Prayer to St. Sergios." On the relationship between the Frankish and the Italian icon and especially the role of the Franks in the movement of this object type from East to West, see Weitzmann, "Crusader Icons and la 'maniera greca,'" in *Il medio oriente e l'occidente nell'arte del XIII secolo*, (ed.) Hans Belting (Bologna: CLUEB, 1982): pp. 71–7 and Folda, "Icon to Altarpiece in the Frankish East: Images of the Virgin and Child Enthroned," in *Italian Panel Painting of the Duecento and Trecento*, (ed.) Victor M. Schmidt (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2002): pp. 122–45 and "Byzantine Chrysography."
- 8 Weitzmann, "Crusader Icons and la 'maniera greca,'" esp. p. 71.
- 9 Folda, "Icon to Altarpiece in the Frankish East;" Carr, "East, West, and Icons in Twelfth-Century Outremer," in *The Meeting of Two Worlds: Cultural Exchange between East and West during the Period of the Crusades*, (ed.) Vladimir P. Goss and Christine Verzár Bornstein (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, 1986): pp. 347–59, esp. 353; Jacoby, "Christian Pilgrimage to Sinai until the Late Fifteenth Century," in *Holy Image, Hallowed Ground: Icons from Sinai*, (ed.) Robert S. Nelson and Kristen M. Collins (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2007), p. 84.
- 10 This observation holds even in light of those devotional practices involving venerable icons in Italy, and above all Rome; see Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994). On the relationship between the Frankish and the Italian icon and especially the role of the Franks in the movement of this object type from East to West, see Weitzmann, "Crusader Icons and la 'maniera greca,'" and Folda, "Icon to Altarpiece in the Frankish East" and "Byzantine Chrysography."

- 11 See Maguire, *The Icons of Their Bodies*, pp. 21–2.
- 12 These characteristics were first drawn out by Hugo Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), p. 69. For their application to icons, see Weitzmann, “Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons,” p. 189. Demetrios’s long tunic also plays a significant role in the Frankish attribution of this single work (p. 195).
- 13 Perugia, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 6.
- 14 The creation of the Perugia Missal within the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem is based on the inclusion in the calendar of the dedication of the church of Acre (“*dedicatio ecclesie Aconensis*”) on July 11, the date that the crusaders reclaimed this important port city from Saladin under Richard the Lionheart and Philip Augustus in 1191 (Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, pp. xxxii, 68–87 and plates 57–9a). Francis Wormald connects the calendar specifically with the Cathedral of the Holy Cross in Acre (Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, p. 108).
- 15 Weitzmann, “Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom,” pp. 54–6, where un-Byzantine stylistic elements are also described. Folda discusses the strange arrangement of these saints and the style in which they are portrayed as western characteristics in *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 462; he links this icon to a pilgrim celebrating the completion of journeys to the three major Christian holy sites (Jerusalem, Rome, Santiago de Compostela) in “12th-Century Pilgrimage Art in Bethlehem and Jerusalem: Points of Contact between Europe and the Crusader Kingdom,” in *Romanesque and the Eastern Mediterranean*, vol. 2 (forthcoming, 2015): pp. 1–14.
- 16 Carr, “Images: Expressions of Faith and Power,” p. 143.
- 17 Some nice comparisons are offered by the icon of Sts George, Theodore, and Demetrios (Constantinople, late eleventh-early twelfth century; Archaeological Museum, Veroia, Greece) and the icon St. Nicholas (Constantinople [?], late tenth-early eleventh century; Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai); reproduced in *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843–1261*, (ed.) Helen C. Evans and William D. Wixom (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), cat. no. 70 and 65, respectively.
- 18 Maguire, *Icons of their Bodies*, p. 100 and throughout.
- 19 Particularly relevant articles treating this subject are Ioli Kalevresou, “Helping Hands for the Empire,” in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, (ed.) Maguire (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1997): pp. 53–79 and Holger Klein, “Eastern Objects and Western Desires,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 58 (2004): pp. 283–314; see also Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, pp. 192–5. On the life of these (and related) relics in the West after the Fourth Crusade, see, for example, Daniel H. Weiss, *Art and Crusade in the Age of Saint Louis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) and Maguire and Nelson (eds), *San Marco, Byzantium, and the Myths of Venice* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2010).
- 20 For reproductions, see Klein, “Eastern Objects and Western Desires,” figures 12 (staurothek), 2, and 3 (triptych).
- 21 Nancy Ševčenko, “The Limburg Staurothek and Its Relics,” in *Thymiamata ste mneme tes Laskarinas Boura*, (ed.) Laskarina Boura (Athens: Benaki Museum, 1994), 1:289–94.
- 22 Klein, “Eastern Objects and Western Desires,” pp. 301–6.
- 23 William M. Voelkle, *The Stavelot Triptych: Mosan Art and the Legend of the True Cross* (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1980); see his catalog entry in Evans and Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium*, pp. 461–3.
- 24 In fact, the Byzantine triptychs have been reworked and redisplayed so that their eastern imagery, originally located on the outside of the triptych wings and so seen only when the triptychs were closed, can be seen when the wings are open to exhibit the True Cross; Klein too sees these indicators of Byzantine-ness to be highly self-conscious and highly charged (“Eastern Objects and Western Desires,” pp. 299–300).
- 25 On their acquisition, see Klein, “Eastern Objects and Western Desires,” pp. 292–3 (Stavelot Triptych) and pp. 301–3 (Limburg Staurothek).
- 26 Klein has interpreted the Byzantine-ness of reliquaries as markers of authenticity, because eastern in origin (i.e. “Eastern Objects and Western Desires,” p. 306). William Tronzo has made a related argument with regard to the appropriation of Byzantine forms in the east end of the Cappella Palatina (“Byzantine Court Culture from the Point of View of Norman Sicily: The Case of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo,” in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, (ed.) Maguire (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1997), pp. 112–13). On the more general influence of the Byzantine artistic tradition during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see Belting, “Zwischen Gotik und Byzanz: Gedanken zur Geschichte der sächsischen Buchmalerei im 13. Jahrhundert,” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 41 (1978): pp. 217–57 and “Die Reaktion der Kunst des 13. Jahrhunderts auf den Import von Reliquien und Ikonen,” in *Il medio oriente e l’occidente*, (ed.) Belting: pp. 35–53; Anthony Cutler, “Misapprehensions and Misgivings:

- Byzantine Art and the West in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Mediaevalia* 7 (1981): pp. 41–77.
- 27 I am thinking here especially of the stone relief of St. George on the façade of San Marco, concerning which Belting states, "A religious object could have no greater proof of its power than to come from Constantinople, a source that was readily asserted, even in cases where it was patently untrue" (*Likeness and Presence*, p. 196), and the fourteenth-century construction of fake *spolia*, on which see Maguire, "Venetian Art as a Mirror of Venetian Attitudes to Byzantium in Decline," in 550th Anniversary of the Istanbul University, *International Byzantine and Ottoman Symposium (XVth Century)*, (ed.) Sümer Atasoy (Istanbul: Istanbul Üniversitesi, 2004), pp. 281–9. While an important site of appropriation, Venice is also unique; see Maria Georgopoulou, "Late Medieval Crete and Venice: An Appropriation of Byzantine Heritage," *Art Bulletin* 77 (1995): pp. 479–96.
 - 28 For approximations, see Linda Safran (ed.), *Heaven on Earth: Art and the Church in Byzantium* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), plate IV.B and Gary Vikan, *Early Byzantine Pilgrimage Art* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2011), figure 16. On the Anastasis mosaic in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and its echoes in Frankish objects, see Alan Borg, "The Lost Apse Mosaic of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem," in *The Vanishing Past: Studies of Medieval Art, Liturgy and Metrology presented to Christopher Hohler*, (ed.) Alan Borg and Andrew Martindale (Oxford: BAR, 1981): pp. 7–12; Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders*, pp. 229–31. For references to this mosaic in pilgrimage accounts, see especially Theoderic, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099–1185*, (ed.) John Wilkinson (London: Hakluyt Society, 1988), pp. 281–2 and John of Würzburg, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, p. 262. For a more general treatment of the mosaics in this church, see Marie Luise Bulst-Thiele, "Die Mosaiken der 'Auferstehungskirche' in Jerusalem und die Bauten der 'Franken' im 12. Jahrhundert," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 13 (1979): pp. 442–71. For the Adoration of the Magi and the Church of the Nativity, see Donato Baldi, *Enchiridion locorum sanctum: Documenta S. Evangelii loca respicientia* (Jerusalem: Typis PP. Franciscanorum, 1955), p. 105, note 2, which preserves the content of the 838 Synod of Jerusalem declaring that the church was saved from Persian destruction in the seventh century because the conquerors saw their ancestors pictured as the Magi on the façade. On the preservation of early Byzantine *loca sancta* art on pilgrimage ampullae, see, for example, Vikan, "Byzantine Pilgrim's Art," in *Heaven on Earth*, (ed.) Safran: pp. 229–63. On these ampullae more generally, see André Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte (Monza, Bobbio)* (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1958).
 - 29 Christopher Walter, *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), p. 67 (Demetrius) and p. 59 (Theodore). In Byzantine contexts, an inscription usually identifies the specific Theodore, despite the fact that details of iconography serve the same purpose (Maguire, *Icons of Their Bodies*, pp. 21–2).
 - 30 For Sts George and Symeon the Stylite, see, for example, Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land*, figures 74 and 193 and for Sts Catherine and Marina, see Nelson and Collins (eds), *Holy Image, Hallowed Ground*, figure 84. These icons have all been dated to the thirteenth century and are located today in the Monastery of St. Catherine in the Sinai.
 - 31 The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 76 F5. The illuminations accompanying William of Tyre's history of the Latin Kingdom provide similar testimony with regard to the self-conscious use of style. For reproductions of miniatures in a Frankish Tyre manuscript, see Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land*. Plate 10 is representative, but this volume also contains a supplemental CD with these miniatures. I make a related argument with regard to the strategic use of a Byzantine style, but in the context of Frankish manuscripts, in "The *Histoire ancienne* and Dialectical Identity in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Gesta* 49 (2010): pp. 31–51.
 - 32 For an English translation of the relevant *Gesta francorum* passage, see August C. Krey, *The First Crusade: The Accounts of Eyewitnesses and Participants* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1921), pp. 182–5. For a thorough treatment of the strategic appropriation of certain military saints in the important Battle of Antioch, see Elizabeth Lapina, "Demetrius of Thessaloniki: Patron Saint of Crusaders," *Viator* 40 (2009): pp. 93–112.
 - 33 On marriage alliances in the twelfth century, see Bernard Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States* (London: Variorum Publications, 1980), pp. 171–2; on the shared use of sacred shrines, see pp. 169–71 and Theoderic, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, p. 282. On the religious and cultural influence of Melisende, one such Orthodox queen, see most recently Folda, "Melisende of Jerusalem: Queen and Patron of Art and Architecture in the Crusader Kingdom," in *Reassessing the Roles of Women as "Makers" of Medieval Art and Architecture*, (ed.) Therese Martin (Leiden: Brill, 2012): pp. 429–77.
 - 34 Carr discusses the knowledge of miraculous icons in the west, and thus a kind of second hand contact with them, in "Icons and the Object of Pilgrimage in Middle Byzantine Constantinople," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 56 (2002): pp. 75–92. Certain miraculous icons located in the Levant seem to be mentioned only by Orthodox travelers, such as the icon of the Virgin at the monastery of Our Lady of Kalamonia (Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, p. 166; Daniel the Abbot, *The Pilgrimage of the Russian Abbot Daniel in the Holy Land*, trans. C.W. Wilson, Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society 4 (London: AMS, 1888), chapter XXXIV, especially pp. 30–31. Carr has noted this as well, and adds an icon at Ephesos and Beirut: "East, West, and Icons," p. 351.

- 35 This seems to be the earliest description of this icon and is from Burchard's *De statu Egypti vel Babylonie*, in *Itinera Hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum (saec. XII-XIII)*, (ed.) Sabino de Sandoli, 4 vols. (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1978-84), 2:406; translated in Hamilton, "Our Lady of Saidnaiya: An Orthodox Shrine Revered by Muslims and Knights Templar at the Time of the Crusades," in *The Holy Land, Holy Lands, and Christian History*, (ed.) Robert N. Swanson (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2000): pp. 207-15. This article treats the promotion of this icon by the Knights Templar especially; on the convent and its icon as a regular feature of guide books, see Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, p. 179. See also Benjamin Z. Kedar, "Convergences of Oriental Christian, Muslim, and Frankish Worshipers: The Case of Saydnaya," in *De Sion exhibit lex et verbum domini de Hierusalem*, (ed.) Yitzhak Hen (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001): pp. 59-70 and Daniel Baraz, "The Incarnate Icon of Saidnaya goes West," *Le Muséon* 108 (1995): pp. 181-91; on its promotion by the Knights Templar, see Hamilton, "Our Lady of Saidnaiya."
- 36 Robert of Clari, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, trans. Edgar Holmes McNeal (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), p. 89; he is, of course, speaking of the icon of the Virgin *Nikopeia*.
- 37 For a summary of miracle-working icons on Cyprus, a stopover for many traveling to the Latin Kingdom, see Carr, "East, West, and Icons," pp. 351-3.
- 38 Belting discusses a similar, but not identical, phenomenon with regard to the appropriation of Byzantine forms in the West in *The Image and Its Public in the Middle Ages: Form and Function of Early Paintings of the Passion*, trans. Mark Bartusis and Raymond Meyer (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Aristide D. Caratzas, 1990), pp. 215-18, especially p. 216.
- 39 A handful of panels attributed to Frankish production are large. See Folda's panel painting list in *Crusader Art in the Holy Land*, pp. 531-59. It has been argued that some of these large panels are, in fact, eastern Christian; see Immerzeel, "Divine Cavalry" and "Holy Horsemen and Crusader Banners," as well as Elka Bakalova's catalog entry in Evans, *Byzantium: Faith and Power*, p. 353.
- 40 Important exceptions include an icon of St. George now in the British Library, London (Cormack and Mihalarias, "A Crusader Painting of St. George") and an icon fragment found at Montfort Castle now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land*, p. 219).
- 41 The relationship between size and devotional and votive use is taken up by Carr, "East, West, and Icons," p. 353. On the offering of larger panels at St. Catherine's, see Doula Mouriki, "A Pair of Early 13th-Century Moses Icons at Sinai with the Scenes of the Burning Bush and the Receiving of the Law," *Deltion* 16 (1991-92): pp. 171-84.
- 42 Folda has suggested that the icon eventually came to be used in the Latin-rite liturgy (*Crusader Art in the Holy Land*, p. 224).
- 43 Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," p. 72 and Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land*, p. 223. But Weitzmann also says "[I]n the thirteenth century a colony of Latin monks resided in the monastery [of St. Catherine]. They built their own chapel ... and among the monks were artists who painted icons obviously for their own chapel," in his contribution to *Sinai and the Monastery of St. Catherine*, (ed.) John Galey (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 1985), p. 14.
- 44 Jacoby, "Christian Pilgrimage to Sinai," p. 84. Jacoby also proposes that some of the icons moved with monks who served the monastery, without specifying ethnicity (p. 80). Carr, "East, West, and Icons."
- 45 See, for example, Mouriki, "A Pair of Early 13th-Century Moses Icons" and Weitzmann, "Loca Sancta and the Representational Arts of Palestine," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 28 (1974): pp. 31-55. On the possibility that such icons were intended for the personal use of the monks on-site, see the catalog entry by Collins and Nelson in *Holy Image, Hallowed Ground*, p. 257.
- 46 Carr discusses icons related to the site of Sinai, "East, West, and Icons," pp. 353-4.
- 47 See above, page 21. The monastery in the Sinai was dedicated to the Theotokos upon its foundation in the sixth century. The remains of St. Catherine were moved there in the eleventh or twelfth century; its dedication was associated with St. Catherine by the thirteenth century. Collins, "Visual Piety and Institutional Identity at Sinai," in *Holy Image, Hallowed Ground: Icons from Sinai*, (ed.) Nelson and Collins, pp. 95-116, especially pp. 95-6 and Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom: A Corpus*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 49-58, especially p. 53.
- 48 As far as I know, primary texts from the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Frankish milieu (so, those written by Frankish residents of or western visitors to the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem) only mention Mary, Moses, the Burning Bush, and St. Catherine when describing this site. See, for example, Thietmar's account in Johann K.M. Laurent (ed.), *Magister Thietmari Peregrinatio* (Hamburg, 1857), pp. 41-7, the relevant passage from which has been translated by Pringle in *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, vol. 2, pp. 52-3.
- 49 An icon fragment was found in the Teutonic castle of Montfort. It is, indeed, difficult to assess the art historical value of this object, especially in light of the fact that the knights of the castle were permitted to leave with their belongings after its capture by the Mamluk ruler, Baybars, in 1271. For a discussion of this fragment, see Folda's *Crusader Art in the Holy Land*, pp. 218-19. For the archaeological context of this fragment, see Bashford Dean, "A Crusaders' Fortress in Palestine: A

- Report of Explorations Made by the Museum," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 22 (1927): pp. 5–46. Iconostasis beams held at St. Catherine's have also been attributed to Frankish artists. These objects are distinct and not part of the present discussion.
- 50 Gustav Kühnel, *Wall Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1988), pp. 15, 17–18 and 102.
- 51 Marina appears twice and Mary appears four times. Kühnel has an excellent plan of the painted column layout within the church (*Wall Painting*, figure 3). Folda adds considerations of style to this list of un-programmatic elements (*The Art of the Crusaders*, p. 365) and identifies the Marinas as two different saints (p. 370).
- 52 The most thorough discussions of these columns are found in Kühnel, *Wall Painting*, pp. 1–147 and Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders*, throughout. Kühnel argues that the column paintings should be read as a program; Folda argues that the earliest paintings are votive and the later programmatic (and a counterpart to the 1169 mosaic decoration of the upper walls).
- 53 Donors also appear with St. James and St. Olaf. Certain inscriptions found on donor-less columns agree particularly well with this assessment, such as that accompanying the figure of John the Baptist, which reads: "ECCE AGNUS DEI ECCE QUI TOLLIT PECCATA MUNDI/Behold the Lamb of God, behold the one who takes away the sins of the world" (transcription from Kühnel, *Wall Painting*, p. 36; translation mine).
- 54 For particulars, see Kühnel, *Wall Painting*, pp. 1–147 and Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders*, throughout.
- 55 The Byzantine martyr-saints hold a cross in front of their chests; Fusca's was erased at a later date. For a discussion of these particular paintings, see Kühnel, *Wall Painting*, pp. 15–22 (Virgin Glykophilousa) and pp. 102–5 (St. Fusca).
- 56 Such frames are also found surrounding scenes and saints at the Church of the Hospital of St. John at Emmaus, more commonly known simply as Abu Ghosh.
- 57 Even Folda gestures to the similarities between these votive traditions (*The Art of the Crusaders*, pp. 91–7, especially pp. 94–7).
- 58 Just as they do on some columns, donors appear on some Frankish icons; see, for example, the icon of St. Sergios, reproduced in Hunt, "A Woman's Prayer to St. Sergios," and the icon of Sts Theodore and George, reproduced here as Figure 1.3. We do have primary textual evidence of residents traveling to holy sites. Pringle mentions two, Philip of Milly, also known as Philip of Nablus, Lord of Montréal (Shaubak), and an unknown traveler from Montréal (*The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, vol. 2, p. 52); Jacoby also discusses Philip of Nablus ("Christian Pilgrimage to Sinai," p. 84). Of course, one need not have traveled to these places in order to commission works for them (see above, note 44).
- 59 Cities thought to support workshops include Jerusalem, Acre, Sinai, Lydda, and Tripoli. For major discussions of artistic centers, see Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," and "Crusader Icons and la 'maniera greca';" Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land*, pp. 305–8 and throughout; Cormack and Mihalarias, "A Crusader Painting of St. George;" and Hunt, "A Woman's Prayer to St. Sergios."
- 60 At the Church of the Holy Sepulcher a record of its visit seems to have been important, which was indicated by a cross carved into the wall, but not an offering. On the offering of metalwork for liturgical use in this region, see the hoard found at the Church of the Holy Cross in Resafa, Syria, and discussed by Richard Leson in this volume. Leson's main interest, however, is the meaning of the Resafa Heraldry Cup that belongs to this hoard or, better, the meaning of this cup to its original owner, Raoul I of Coucy, and within its original (knightly) context of use; as such, his is also a valuable contribution to our understanding of the arts and their owners in the Frankish East. The votive function of this cup is secondary.
- 61 One might imagine that the Church of the Annunciation in Nazareth was a particularly important location for the same reason, but the material record does not support this. For a vivid picture of pilgrimage and politics in Nazareth, see Gil Fishhof's essay in this volume.
- 62 Location, date, and Frankish-ness are discussed by Folda, "Painting and Sculpture in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: 1099–1291," in *The Art and Architecture of the Crusader States*, Harry W. Hazard, which is vol. 4 of *A History of the Crusades*, (ed.) Kenneth M. Setton, 6 vols. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969–90), pp. 256–7 and *The Art of the Crusaders*, p. 165 and figures 6.15a and b. The subject of this scene is Byzantine. It also appears in one of the apses of the Hospitaller church at Abu Ghosh/Emmaus, where Christ appeared to his disciples after his Resurrection.
- 63 The transcription and translation are from Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders*, pp. 94–5.
- 64 On the role of these mosaics in a pictured ladder of visions of God, see Jas Elsner, "The Viewer and the Vision: The Case of the Sinai Apse," *Art History* 17 (1994): pp. 81–102.

The Role and Meanings of the Image of St. Peter in the Crusader Sculpture of Nazareth: A New Reading

Gil Fishhof

Introduction

Almost nothing remains today from the splendor of the Crusader Church of the Annunciation in Nazareth. Although spared by Saladin after the Battle of Hattin (1187), it was razed to the ground by one of Baybars's amirs in 1263 and left in ruins for hundreds of years until the Franciscans built a new church on the site in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; this was in turn replaced by the present church consecrated in 1969.¹ However, on display at the Franciscan museum of the church, the five famous capitals originating from the Crusader edifice testify to the magnificence of the Crusader Church of the Annunciation.

Ever since their discovery in 1908 by Father Prosper Viaud,² the five capitals have been recognized as superb examples of Crusader figural stone sculpture. Delicately carved in a yellowish limestone with an outstanding quality of execution, a refined modeling of texture and detail, and careful articulation of gestures, the capitals have attracted much scholarly attention. However, major controversies still exist regarding the most fundamental questions concerning these capitals, such as for what part of the church the sculptures were designated, and the origins of the artists and their stylistic vocabulary. The excavations carried out by Bellarmino Bagatti in the 1950s and 1960s, which have yielded nearly 50 new figural fragments including fragments of capitals and jamb statues, have only increased the controversy.³

Four of the Nazareth capitals are polygonal and one is rectangular. Under elaborate architectural canopies the four polygonal capitals present scenes from the lives of the apostles Matthew, Thomas, Peter, and James the Great. While some of the scenes are traditional, such as the doubting Thomas or the martyrdom of James, others display extremely rare iconography dedicated to the mission of the apostles to the East and to the far corners of the earth, for example the depiction of the mission of Matthew to Ethiopia, which includes

his struggle with the sorcerers Zaroës and Arphaxat.⁴ The rectangular capital presents a crowned female figure leading a nimbed male figure by the hand, in the midst of terrible demons holding bows and other weapons. The identification of the scene poses complicated iconographical problems and was often identified as an image of *Ecclesia* or Faith leading an apostle or “a believer.” Jaroslav Folda has however identified the image as Mary, in connection to the Greek tradition of the descent of the Virgin into Hell and her pleading on behalf of the tormented souls.⁵ Lucy-Anne Hunt has suggested that the male figure can be understood as the missionary in his attempts to Christianize the Muslims, assisted by the Church as he faces the menace of war and idolatry.⁶

All five capitals were found almost undamaged, buried in a small grotto outside the north portal of the Crusader church. Their extraordinarily fine condition has suggested to many scholars that the capitals had never been exposed to weathering, and thus that they were never installed in their intended location.⁷ Seeing in this an indication that the capitals had been intentionally hidden away for protection as the threat of Muslim conquest increased in the last years of the Latin Kingdom, several scholars, including Paul Dechamps, Tom Boase, and Alan Borg, have suggested a late date for them—the 1170s–1180s.⁸

Jaroslav Folda, who dedicated a monograph to the capitals, thinks the great earthquake of 1170 presented Archbishop Lethard II of Nazareth (tenure 1158–90) with an opportunity to rebuild and embellish his church. The first stage of the project was the monumental west portal, which Folda believes was completed in the early to mid-1170s. The remains of this portal, including jamb statues and fragments of the tympanum and archivolts, were mostly found in a damaged state, indicating that the portal had indeed been completed and its sculptural program installed. He argues that the almost pristine capitals belonged to the last, and never completed, stage of the campaign, and were destined for a different part of the church—the aedicule above the shrine-grotto inside.⁹

Zehava Jacoby, elaborating upon the views of Camille Enlart, Boas, and Dechamps,¹⁰ has suggested a completely different emplacement of the capitals. Challenging the claim that their almost pristine state of preservation indicates that they were never installed, she considers the capitals part of the completed west portal ensemble. Taking into account the dimensions of the sculpted fragments, and the width of the western doorway known from excavations, Jacoby has reconstructed a portal consisting of a tympanum and lintel supported by a trumeau and framed by two archivolts. The polygonal capitals she places mounting the colonettes supporting the lintel and archivolts and surmounting the jamb statues on either side of the portal. On stylistic grounds, and taking into account comparisons to French portals of the middle of the twelfth century, Jacoby dates the west portal with its capitals to a much earlier period than Folda—the mid-twelfth century.¹¹

One of the most challenging questions concerning these capitals relates to the choice to depict a cycle of the apostles on the four polygonal capitals,

rather than, for example, a Marian cycle, which would have been directly connected to the holy site of the Annunciation. A relation to the *locus sanctus* in the iconography of an edifice erected on the relevant holy site has been recognized as a fundamental characteristic of Crusader art, making the question even more substantial.¹²

Several scholars have addressed this issue. Boase has suggested that the iconography of the Nazareth capitals and its emphasis on the mission of the apostles in the East is an expression of twelfth-century interest in the East.¹³ Later, Moshe Barasch expanded upon this interpretation. For Barasch, the choice of the mission of the apostles in the East gave legitimation to the crusader settlement in the Holy Land, while the emphasis on the redeeming power of faith offered reassurance to the frightened Christian inhabitants of Nazareth during the final years of the Latin Kingdom.¹⁴ Using the mission of the apostles as a revered biblical model for the crusaders is well known, and was notably studied by Adolph Katzenellenbogen in relation to the central tympanum of the church of the Magdalene at Vézelay.¹⁵ More recently William J. Purkis has shown that the ideal of the imitation of the apostles and of living in a manner concordant with the values of the early church held a very important place in crusader spirituality, including the notions of living in unanimity of spirit, in one heart and in one mind, and the ideal of sharing all possessions.¹⁶ Returning to the Nazareth capitals and to the interpretation of Barasch, it thus seems to me that his suggestion that the mission of the apostles legitimized the crusaders is very valuable. However, his interpretation has remained general and does not relate to the specific concerns of the patrons. As I will suggest later, the reasons for this iconography are rooted in the specific political and ecclesiastical context of the archbishopric of Nazareth.

Zehava Jacoby explains the apostolic iconography in light of the more extensive iconographical program of the west portal. The archivolt was decorated with cycles of the signs of the zodiac, fabulous beasts, and perhaps also the labors of the months—all imbuing the images on the tympanum with cosmic connotations. Based on a number of fragments, including part of the head of Christ and fragments belonging to angels, Jacoby identified a tympanum with an enthroned Christ in a mandorla flanked by two angels, a lintel possibly depicting the Redemption of the Just and a scene of Hell, and the polygonal capitals of the apostles on either side of the doorway. The trumeau (adorned with the monumental figure of St. Peter to which I will return later) was surmounted by the rectangular capital depicting the crowned *Ecclesia*/Mary rescuing a haloed figure from attacking demons, and an additional fragment depicting the Psychomachia. Thus, Jacoby sees the capitals of the apostles as expressing the authority of the church, within a program culminating in Christ's triumphant Second Coming and the Last Judgment.¹⁷

Folda has suggested a completely different explanation. Of the three greatest holy sites, Nazareth was the least important for pilgrims during the twelfth century, perhaps because it was difficult to access from Jerusalem.¹⁸ The decision of Archbishop Lethard II to enlarge and embellish the Church

of the Annunciation was thus intended to promote his pilgrimage church and increase its fame in comparison to the other major *loca sancta* of the Holy Land.¹⁹ Folda argues that Archbishop Lethard's motivations were the reason for the choice of scenes from the lives of the apostles for the capitals. Relying on two thirteenth-century texts which compare the apostolic foundation of the Church of Tortosa with that of Nazareth, and on the prominence given to the apostles on the capitals, Folda contends that the claim to an apostolic foundation was already raised by Nazareth in the twelfth century, with the aim of increasing the church's prestige.²⁰ While this interpretation is highly convincing, additional motivations can also be discerned, rooted in the political struggles of the Archbishop of Nazareth and in the specific ecclesiastical circumstances of his archbishopric.

In re-examining these issues, I seek to investigate an aspect of the Nazareth sculpture whose meanings and implications have been given little attention to date—the special emphasis given to St. Peter within the cycle. I shall contend that this emphasis is highly meaningful and was part of an attempt by the Archbishop of Nazareth to manifest and consolidate the legitimacy of his ecclesiastical status in the face of internal diocesan challenges.²¹ The image of St. Peter will thus serve here as a focal point that will allow us to examine the Nazareth sculpture in its immediate regional, political, and ecclesiastical context.

In interpreting the iconography of the Nazareth sculpture as expressing the patronage of the Archbishop of Nazareth, it is important to note that the link between the Church of the Annunciation and the prestige and honor of its archbishop is made clear from the accounts of pilgrims who visited Nazareth in the twelfth century. These sources thus strengthen my proposal that the sculpture was meant to reflect directly on the status and prestige of the archbishop. Particularly illuminating in this regard is the pilgrim monk Theodoric, who visited the church in 1169 or 1172 and writes that: "In [Nazareth] there stands a venerable church resplendent with the honor of being the seat of a bishop and dedicated to Our Lady St. Mary."²² The Russian Abbot Daniel, who visited Nazareth between 1106 and 1108, mentions how the Franks had thoroughly rebuilt the Church of the Annunciation which had been laid waste, and immediately continues to glorify the wealth and hospitality of the bishop, writing that: "And there is a very rich Latin bishop here, who has jurisdiction over the holy place; and he made us very welcome with drink and food and all [that we needed]; and we spent the night in this town."²³ Pringle understands this description to imply that the residence of the bishop directly adjoined the church, again strengthening the direct relation between the archbishop and the edifice.²⁴

Before turning to the images of St. Peter in the Church of the Annunciation another short explanation is necessary. It is not my purpose here to go into the numerous specific archaeological details of the long controversy regarding the original location of the capitals, led by Folda and Jacoby. Whether they were placed on the west portal or inside the church is irrelevant for my interpretation of the Nazareth sculpture, even more so as the two dates

proposed (mid-twelfth century or the 1170s–1180s) fall in the tenure of the same patron: Archbishop Lethard II.

The Images of St. Peter in the Crusader Church in Nazareth

On one of the polygonal capitals St. Peter is portrayed in two scenes (Figure 2.1). One half of the capital depicts the Resurrection of Tabitha, who is lying on a bed with her upper body nude, while Peter is holding her hand in his, reflecting the text of the Acts of the Apostles (9:36–43). In resurrecting Tabitha, Peter is compared to Christ as a miracle worker, a comparison stressed by the fact that Christ stands on the adjacent facet, in similar posture, while

2.1 Church of the Annunciation, Nazareth, Capital of St. Peter, mid- to late-twelfth century, courtesy of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum. Courtesy of G. Fishhof.



performing the miracle of filling the apostles' net with fish. On the other half of the capital Peter is portrayed with his legs immersed in water and behind him a boat containing two male figures. Peter is excitedly stretching his arms out towards Christ standing on the shore, and his agitated posture suggests his movement forward in the water. While the identification of the scene poses some difficulties and raises several possibilities,²⁵ it is likely that this is a depiction of an episode from John 21:1–17, in which the presence of Christ on the shore miraculously fills the apostles' nets with fish after a night in which they caught nothing. Peter, realizing that it is the resurrected Christ standing on the shore, casts himself into the sea. I believe that an important factor in choosing this scene lies in the dialogue that took place between Christ and Peter after the apostles had dined off the fishes they had miraculously caught. Three times Christ addresses Peter with the question "Lovest thou me?" and when Peter replies, Christ places in his hands the mission of feeding his lambs—that is, of being the head of the congregation of the faithful and of the church. This message is also manifested in the other representations of St. Peter in the Nazareth cycle.

St. Peter also features on a monumental jamb statue discovered during the excavation of 1966 (Figure 2.2).²⁶ The figure is depicted frontally, holding the Keys of Heaven in his right hand and a detailed model of a church in his left. A prominent feature of this church is its three rounded apses, resembling those of the Crusader church in Nazareth.²⁷ Although the Nazareth church had a basilical plan comprising a six-bay nave with three apses set into a rectangular configuration at the eastern end, and so the round outline of the apses was not visible from the outside,²⁸ depictions of church models from early Christian art onwards indicate that there should be little doubt that St. Peter is holding a model of the Church of the Annunciation itself.²⁹

As noted by Elizabeth Lipsmeyer, the tradition of depicting church models reveals several continuous principles: the abbreviation of the structure represented and the use of a reduced number for repeated elements such as clerestory windows; the reduction of the represented structure into a convention of its central meaningful features and the selective transformation of some of these into the model; and a disregard for proportion or perspective.³⁰ Thus, such a church model is in fact a combination of the symbolic with the actual or realistic features of the represented building.³¹ One twelfth-century example is the model of the Church of St. Fortunat at Charlieu held by King Boso, depicted on the west porch of the church. While some parts of the building have been reproduced in great detail, others are abbreviated or eliminated entirely; only two of the four bays of the nave are shown, as well as only one apse of the church's complex arrangement of radiating chapels at the eastern end.³²

With regard to the model held by St. Peter in Nazareth, Lipsmeyer has suggested that the decision to portray the structure with a deliberate focus on the eastern end is because either this might have been the extent of the building completed at the time of the carving or particularly important relics were kept in the chapels to which St. Peter points.³³ I would suggest a different



2.2 Church of the Annunciation, Nazareth, Trumeau statue of St. Peter holding the keys and the model of the church, mid-to late twelfth century, courtesy of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum. Courtesy of G. Fishhof.

explanation. The depiction of only the three rounded apses and the tower allow the saint to encompass the entire model with his arm and to press it against his chest. A depiction of a complete structure seen from the side, for example, would allow St. Peter physically to touch only part of it. The form of the model chosen for Nazareth thus emphasizes the direct link between the saint and the church.

While in disagreement regarding the intended location of the Nazareth capitals, both Jacoby and Folda agree that the statue of St. Peter was destined for the west portal of the church. In contrast to fragments of other jamb statues originating from the same portal, such as a torso of a prophet holding a scroll (now in the Chatsworth collection in Derbyshire, England), which presents a slightly inclined posture, the frontal position of St. Peter indicated for Jacoby that his figure adorned the trumeau, thus located on the central axis of the portal's composition and forming a focal point for the ensemble of jamb statues. This is convincing, although Folda and Bagatti consider that the image was attached to the colonnettes on the splayed jambs.³⁴

Several scholars have attempted to interpret this image and its significance within the Nazareth program. Jacoby noted that the figures of Christ in Glory on the tympanum, *Ecclesia* on the trumeau capital, and St. Peter on the trumeau are positioned in descending order, creating a clear axis at the center of the portal. The importance of St. Peter within this axis is an assertion of the authority of the church. However, Jacoby states that we know very little about the Archbishop of Nazareth Lethard II and his intentions as patron of the program, nor whether any of the prelates of the city had established special connections with the papacy or with Cluny, to which St. Peter is especially connected. Rather, Jacoby suggests that the ideographic axis implies a universal message.³⁵ Folda concluded that the iconography of St. Peter holding the keys and a model of a church is unusual, and considers it an allusion to the saint's role in founding the first church in Nazareth.³⁶ Bagatti likewise remarked that the representation of St. Peter with the model is unusual, and contended that "this motif cannot be understood except within the mentality of the crusaders who thought to establish the unity of the church under the one Church of Rome."³⁷

While these observations are extremely important, I contend that this image can in fact be located within the more specific regional and political context of the Archbishop of Nazareth. The tradition of portraying patrons and donors as holding a model of the church they had built goes back to early Christian times, for example in the depiction of Bishop Ecclesius of Ravenna holding a model of the Church of San Vitale and presenting it to Christ. In the ninth-century apse mosaic of Santa Prassede in Rome, Pope Paschal I is depicted in a similar manner, with both his hands covered as he presents a model of the Church of Santa Prassede to Christ. This tradition also found ample expression in French Romanesque sculpture in areas stylistically connected to the sculptures of Nazareth, such as Burgundy. Thus the late eleventh- or early twelfth-century altar from Avenas depicts King Louis the Pious kneeling and presenting a model of the church to St. Vincent (Figure 2.3), while on a capital at St. Lazare at Autun, Duke Hugues II presents a model of the church to Bishop Etienne of Autun.

Yet, a comparison of these works with the Nazareth St. Peter reveals significant differences. This particular iconographic formula was usually reserved for non-canonized donors and patrons, be they secular or ecclesiastical, who were depicted presenting the model of the church to



a saintly recipient.³⁸ In Nazareth the situation is different. Rather than an ordinary patron it is the saint himself who holds the model of the church.

Even more importantly, the way in which St. Peter holds the model differs from that depicted for ordinary donors or patrons. While most donors hold the model of the church with their arms outstretched presenting it to the saintly recipient, St. Peter holds it pressed closely to his body, circumscribed by his left arm. Thus the saint is not presented as a donor or ordinary patron of the church but, rather, as head of the Nazareth church, its protector and source of authority. In Nazareth, therefore, a significant nuance in meaning has occurred. Instead of the Archbishop of Nazareth presenting the church to St. Peter, it is the saint himself who is portrayed as protector and the source of authority and prestige for the church of Nazareth, and from whom the archbishop receives legitimacy and authority.

Moreover, of the five fingers of the saint's right hand holding the Keys of Heaven, three clasp the keys while two are slightly inclined forward, touching the model of the church in his left hand in a gesture of blessing, which clearly stresses the connection between the Keys of Heaven and the model of the church. While Jacoby sees the two objects in St. Peter's hand as an illustration of his "double role as Vicar of Christ in charge of the church on earth and as keeper of the realm of heaven,"³⁹ I believe that the special connection between these two objects can also be interpreted in a more specific sense. It is as the keeper of the realm of heaven that St. Peter holds his special authority, and

2.3 Church of Notre-Dame, Avenas, southern face of altar, King Louis the Pious presenting a model of the church to St. Vincent, late eleventh or early twelfth century. Courtesy of G. Fishhof.

this unique authority now stands as the source of authority and prestige for the Nazareth church and its archbishop.⁴⁰

St. Peter Holding the Model of the Church and the Challenges faced by the Archbishop of Nazareth

In a letter written in 1100 to the Latins in *Outremer*, Pope Paschal II stated:

Since you began this pilgrimage through the vicar of St. Peter ... you should abound always in the consolation of St. Peter and to the end hold him, whom you accepted as the foundation of such a great work, as your head in faith and obedience ... You ought to submit to [the papal legate] ... and through him to us, in fact to St. Peter.⁴¹

Such words explicitly express the ambitions of the papacy under Paschal II to establish its own primacy in regard to the churches of the newly established Latin states. A central part of the pope's efforts to establish his superiority was the redefinition of the status of the ancient patriarchates in the East, especially those of Jerusalem and Antioch. Thus, jurisdiction of the patriarchate of Jerusalem was limited to that of a Primate, restricted to the borders of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. This territorial constraint, in comparison to the universal claims of papal authority, made the Patriarch of Jerusalem subject to Rome for the first time.⁴² Another expression of the pope's attempt to establish his status in the Latin East was reflected in his efforts to restructure the ecclesiastical organization in the newly conquered areas, narrowing the borders of certain sees while reestablishing others. Once again, these actions positioned the Bishop of Rome as the supreme source of authority.

This papal involvement had crucial and direct consequences for Nazareth. Traditionally, Nazareth had the seat of an Orthodox bishop.⁴³ However, in the first years after the Latin conquest no attempt was made to reconstitute a diocesan organization in the Galilee, and that is perhaps why Pope Paschal II granted the Abbot of Tabor archiepiscopal authority throughout the region in 1103. The pope addressed Abbot Gerard as the Archbishop of Mount Tabor, giving him the archdiocese of Tiberias and Galilee and conferring upon him the episcopal pallium.⁴⁴ As there was no Latin Bishop of Nazareth at the time, Bernard Hamilton concludes that the Abbot of Tabor was virtually immune from any ecclesiastical authority save that of the pope.⁴⁵

A few years later things changed for the worse for the Abbot of Tabor, as at the instigation of Gibelin of Arles, papal legate and newly elected Patriarch of Jerusalem, the See of Nazareth was newly established.⁴⁶ The newly appointed Bishop of Nazareth enjoyed jurisdiction throughout Galilee, thus severely reducing the power of the Abbot of Tabor.

Another stage in restructuring the status of the See of Nazareth occurred twenty years later. In Orthodox times, the metropolitan see for Galilee had been at Scythopolis (Bethsan). However, as Bethsan was almost deserted by the twelfth century, there was no attempt made to restore its status

as archdiocese. Instead, in early 1129, William, the second Latin Bishop of Nazareth, was promoted to the rank of Archbishop and Nazareth became the metropolitan see for Galilee.⁴⁷

I believe that the placement of St. Peter at the focal point of the west portal was meant to manifest and consolidate the legitimacy of both the transfer of the bishopric from Mount Tabor to Nazareth, and Nazareth's new status as an archbishopric, both of which were instigated or recognized by the papacy. Indeed, the Archbishop of Nazareth's constant need to consolidate his ecclesiastical status is reinforced by the fact that, until a relatively late period, the crusaders were well aware that the elevation of Nazareth to an archbishopric constituted a break from tradition. William of Tyre, writing almost half a century after Nazareth had become an archbishopric, still felt compelled to explain that: "Scythopolis is the capital of Palestina Tertia ... It is also called Bethsan. Nowadays Nazareth, which is situated at the same diocese, enjoys its prerogative."⁴⁸ John of Ibelin also preserves the memory of Bethsan's traditional status as the metropolitan see for Galilee, noting that: "l'arcevesque de Bethsem qui est dit de Nazeret."⁴⁹ It thus seems that throughout the twelfth century the status of the Archbishop of Nazareth appeared to require explanation; and, perhaps also from his own point of view, consolidation. The image of St. Peter on the portal of the Church of the Annunciation provided both.

In the suggested context, however, the image of St. Peter may have had additional importance. Throughout the twelfth century, the principality of Galilee was one of the most important in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, with Tiberias the seat of the Prince of Galilee. Before the crusaders' arrival, Tiberias was also the seat of an Orthodox bishop who was a suffragan of Bethsan. However, no attempt was made to appoint a Latin Bishop of Tiberias and the church was placed in the care of an archdeacon.⁵⁰ Around 1144, a Latin Bishop of Tiberias is mentioned, although the actual re-establishment of the bishopric might have taken place a few years earlier.⁵¹ However, as in the case of Nazareth itself, the newly re-established bishopric of Tiberias was no longer subordinated to Bethsan, but to Nazareth.⁵² If the model of the church of Nazareth held by St. Peter affirmed Nazareth's new status as an archbishopric in relation to the transfer of that status from Bethsan, then it also affirmed Nazareth's authority over Tiberias.⁵³

Turning again to the re-establishment of the See of Nazareth in 1109, although the newly appointed bishop enjoyed jurisdiction throughout Galilee, the monastery of Tabor was not directly subjected to the authority of the bishop but instead became subject to the patriarch, who had responsibility for ordination of the abbots and monks as well as for the consecration of the major church.⁵⁴ The special status of the Tabor monastery, including the right of its abbot to wear the pallium, was successively confirmed by Popes Eugenius III in 1146 and Alexander III in 1161.⁵⁵ However, John of Ibelin later lists the Prior of Tabor as a suffragan of the Archbishop of Nazareth, suggesting that the authority of the Archbishop of Nazareth was firm in that regard. Nonetheless, it is possible that Tabor's special status (or its memory, even if preserved to a

lesser extent than that of Bethsan), may have contributed to the Archbishop of Nazareth's desire to manifest his authority via the image of St Peter.

To this we should add the association of Mount Tabor with Cluny, attested to circa 1130,⁵⁶ although the exact nature of this association is not clear.⁵⁷ If we recall that Cluniac priories had often claimed complete independence not only from the secular nobility but also from the bishops in whose diocese they were located, it can be assumed that the association of Mount Tabor with Cluny might have strengthened Nazareth's concerns in regard to the monastery on Mount Tabor.⁵⁸ Moreover, the visual representation of St. Peter as patron and source of authority of the church of Nazareth could counter any claims to immunity by the monastery of Tabor as a Cluniac dependency, if we remember that Cluny itself based its claims to immunity on its direct dependence on Rome, that is, on the See of St. Peter.

St. Peter and the Claim for an Apostolic Foundation of the Church of Nazareth

However, there is another possibility that should be considered: that Nazareth's claim to the legitimacy of its archbishopric status does not refer to St. Peter as a symbol of the papacy, but to St. Peter as founder (with the other apostles) of the first church in Nazareth. As I have already mentioned, Folda contends that the claim to an apostolic foundation was already raised by Nazareth in the twelfth century with the aim of increasing the church's prestige, and sees in this the reason for the choice of scenes from the lives of the apostles for the capitals. And indeed the claim for an apostolic foundation would have been of great importance for a (pilgrimage) church as it demonstrated that the tradition identifying the site was ancient, going back to the time of the *ecclesia primitiva*. In the specific context of Nazareth such a claim could also be used to demonstrate that the see was more ancient (and prestigious) than that of Bethsan.⁵⁹

In this regard it should be noted that the activity of St. Peter at a particular place, whether performing a miracle, holding an ecclesiastical position, or administering a liturgical act, was important for the crusaders. The memory of such activity was kept alive; it was referred to in several cases, and—most importantly—was used as a basis for claiming the crusaders' rights over a city or locality. One prominent example is that of Antioch, where the memory of Peter being the city's first bishop was exploited by the crusaders in their time of difficulty. Several sources report that when a superior Muslim force besieged the crusaders at Antioch in June 1098, St. Peter interceded with Christ for them because it had been his see.⁶⁰ Several sources stated that after converting the city to Christianity the saint established his right over it, and hence the right of the Christians.⁶¹ As Jonathan Riley-Smith has stated, "As the crusaders moved out of the confines of Latin Christendom they passed into an area in which familiar saints had different roles ... It was the most natural thing in the world for the Antiochene Peter to be in the forefront of

their minds at Antioch"⁶² Another prominent example is that of Caesarea where, according to Acts 10–11, Peter had baptized gentile converts for the first time. When in 1101 the crusaders besieged the city and negotiations for surrender of the Muslim garrison were held, the Latin Patriarch Daimbert is reported to have stated that "Caesarea was St. Peter's and ought to belong to him, whom your [the Muslims'] ancestors drove from the city by force ... and so we ask you to return to us the land of St. Peter."⁶³ Likewise, in the case of Nazareth it can be suggested that St. Peter's activity there was used to legitimize Christian control over Nazareth, as well as Nazareth's status as an archbishopric.

Can it be decided then which of the two "identities" of St. Peter was most prominent here—his role as the first pope and his association with the papacy and Rome, or his role (with the other apostles) as founder of the church of Nazareth? The fact that the tradition of an apostolic foundation of the church of Nazareth concerns all the apostles, and that in Nazareth St. Peter was singled out (through his image holding the model of the church), may at first seem to indicate that his special role as the first pope is being referred to here. However, the strong tradition of evoking St. Peter's activity at a particular place can also explain the special emphasis of St. Peter and thus connect his image to the saint's role in the foundation of Nazareth.

There is no need to choose between the two identifications and levels of meaning. As is well known, medieval thought, exegesis and art are multilayered and allow for several modes of interpretation to coexist. I therefore believe that the image of St Peter can simultaneously be seen as relating to the foundation of the church and to the papal legitimation given to the elevation of the Archbishop of Nazareth to his prestigious status.

St. Peter Holding a Model at Étampes and Autun: Implications for Nazareth

Although, as we have seen, the iconography of a saint holding a model of a church or other building is extremely rare, there are a few other examples. The twelfth-century mosaic decoration in the apse of San Lorenzo in Lucina depicted St. Lucy holding a church model, and two additional examples are known in Rhenish enamelwork where seated apostles hold large church models.⁶⁴ However, especially important in our context are the two images of St. Peter himself holding a model which are found in Étampes and Autun. They thus constitute singular and significant comparisons to the image of St. Peter in Nazareth.

The first example is a jamb statue of St. Peter now located in the Church of Notre-Dame at Étampes,⁶⁵ together with an additional jamb statue depicting St. Paul. According to Paul Williamson, these figures were originally located to the far left and right of the south portal of the church, but were removed when the south transept was added.⁶⁶ As in the case of Nazareth, the Étampes St. Peter stands in a frontal posture and holds the Keys of Heaven in his right hand and a model of the church in his left. However, some instructive

differences exist between the two figures. While in Étampes the fingers of the saint's right hand holding the keys do not create any contact with the model, in Nazareth, as we have seen, a clear connection is established between keys and model. Moreover, the left palm of St. Peter in Étampes, holding the model, seems to stretch fairly horizontally across his stomach, whereas the left palm of the saint in Nazareth is half-closed around the model, creating an impression that he is clasping it forcefully to his chest. In Nazareth, therefore, the direct relation between the saint and the model (and the keys) is visually articulated in a much more forceful and prominent manner.

The Étampes St. Peter can shed light on the meaning of the Nazareth St. Peter in another aspect. Just as at Nazareth, it was created in the context of a need to consolidate the prestige of the church's patrons in the face of rivalry from nearby ecclesiastical institutions, and just as at Nazareth the association with St. Peter accorded Étampes legitimacy and manifested its connection to the apostolic age and to the *vita apostolica*.

Notre-Dame of Étampes, founded by Robert the Pious, enjoyed continuous Capetian support throughout the twelfth century. Indeed, Notre-Dame dominated the religious life of Étampes with only one significant rival—the venerable monastic foundation of Morigny. The sources document the frequent struggles between these two foundations, each anxious to preserve its position and privileges. As demonstrated by Kathleen Nolan, the iconography of the capital frieze of the south portal at Étampes can be explained in light of these struggles and as part of the attempts of the canons of Étampes to manifest their devotion and commitment to life according to the *vita apostolica*.⁶⁷ Thus, for example, in the depiction of the Last Supper emphasis was placed on the involvement of the apostles in the institution of the sacrament of the mass.⁶⁸ As Nolan observes, in light of the confrontation between the two rival ecclesiastical institutions of Étampes, such manifestation of the apostolic ideal bore prestige and legitimacy, which was important to both sides. The south portal, moreover, faced the highly public market square and not the canonical enclosure, and was thus appropriate for the display of such messages.⁶⁹ The figure of St. Peter holding the model of the church may equally have been used to emphasize Étampes' association with the apostolic age.

A second significant comparison to the Nazareth St. Peter comes from Autun. A white marble pilaster, now in the Musée Rolin, is decorated with a figure of a barefooted apostle, most probably St. Peter on account of his curly short beard and balding head (Figure 2.4). However, as this figure does not carry the usual attribute of the keys, and as the lion at its feet may suggest St. Mark and is not readily associated with St. Peter, different identifications are possible.⁷⁰ In his left hand the apostle is holding a model of an edifice close to his chest.

Before it was transferred to the Musée Rolin the pilaster was reused as a mullion of a window in the building known today as the "canons' refectory" of the former Cathedral of St-Nazaire at Autun, although its original function is not known. As suggested by Neil Stratford, the figure of the Autun apostle is stylistically connected to other sculptural fragments which were either

similarly reused as part of the “canons’ refectory” or discovered in the garden of the Château de Montjeu just outside Autun.⁷¹

The homogeneity in style as well as the dimensions of the different sculptures in the group suggested to Stratford that they all came from the same ensemble,⁷² originating in one of the buildings in the claustral area of the Cathedral of St-Nazaire, and reused by the canons in the “refectory” in the later thirteenth century.

This provenance of the Autun pilaster may enable us to place it in a plausible cultural context. The chapter of St-Nizier Cathedral at Autun lived a communal life from at least the mid-ninth century up until the late twelfth century, and continuous references appear in the documents to a cloister, dormitory, and other communal living quarters.⁷³ In the twelfth century, the association with the apostles and with the *vita apostolica* was not only pursued by monks but by canons as well. As stated by Ilene Forsyth:

Basic to this phenomenon is the principle of imitation, the idea that monks and canons might imitate or model themselves on Christ’s Apostles to the extent that twelfth-century communal life might evoke the people, places, and events of the apostolic age and metaphorically link the two periods in a spiritual synergy transcending time.⁷⁴

Peter Damian, for example, wrote that “It is clear that the rule of canons issued from the life of the apostles ... With one heart and one soul, they have everything in common.”⁷⁵ The identification of twelfth-century monks and canons with the Disciples of Christ was manifested in the sculptures of their cloisters and churches in many ways. One of these was the portrayal of the apostles themselves on the piers of cloisters as models for the communal life. A famous example is found in the cloister at Moissac where the apostolic and contemporary ages are merged, since at the head of the apostles is not Christ but Durand, Abbot of Moissac.⁷⁶

In light of this it is plausible to suggest that, for the canons of Autun, the presence in the claustral area of the image of an apostle holding the model of an edifice related to them (be it a model of their church or another building in the claustral area) was imbued with similar meanings, linking them to the apostolic era. If we return to Nazareth, then the suggested interpretation of the image of St. Peter as an attempt to manifest



2.4 St-Nazaire at Autun, pilaster probably representing St. Peter holding the model of the church, circa 1140–60, now in the Musée Rolin, Autun (M.L. 1291), courtesy of the Musée Rolin. Courtesy of S. Prost.

Nazareth's connections to the apostolic age seems to be strengthened by the context of the St-Nazaire apostle.

A Second Depiction of St. Peter Resurrecting Tabitha in Nazareth and its Implications

Another rectangular capital found in the excavations of Nazareth from the 1950s through to the 1960s depicts the Resurrection of Tabitha, who is stretched out on a bed with her breast uncovered. St. Peter is standing next to her, blessing her with his right hand and holding her left hand in his left hand.⁷⁷ As discussed earlier, the same miracle also featured on one of the octagonal capitals discovered by Viaud.⁷⁸

The appearance of a second depiction of the same miracle at Nazareth raises many questions, foremost of which are the reason for this repetition of subject and the connection between the two representations.

Folda, who believes the polygonal capitals were situated on the aedicule above the shrine-grotto inside the church, contends that the larger size of the rectangular capital suggests that they were installed at a greater height and greater distance from the viewer. Of the various options, he believes it most probable that they were destined for the engaged columns of the nave arcade. He connects the choice to depict the scene of Tabitha with the importance of St. Peter for this site "as the apostle most prominently associated in tradition with the establishment of a church to the Virgin here in Nazareth."⁷⁹

Jacoby sees the second appearance of the miracle of Tabitha as attesting to an even bolder statement of St. Peter's role. Noting that the rectangular Tabitha capital is similar in shape and size to the trumeau capital, she argues that it was originally intended for the trumeau. Emphasizing the miraculous power of St. Peter, the placement of the rectangular Tabitha capital on the trumeau would have almost equated him with Christ. Jacoby thus believes that at some stage this elevation of St Peter's status might have seemed too bold a step and it was thus replaced with another rectangular capital representing the victory of *Ecclesia*. Since the rectangular Tabitha capital was abandoned, the miracle was carved anew on one of the polygonal capitals.⁸⁰

Regardless of which hypothesis is more probable, both reinforce the pre-eminence of St. Peter within the Nazareth sculptural cycle. Jacoby's suggestion may even imply that the Archbishop of Nazareth's concern with the saint was so great that it might have caused friction and discontent among the ecclesiastical hierarchy in Nazareth.

In conclusion, the interpretation that I have suggested here explains the exceptional figure of St. Peter in relation to the political challenges to the prestige and authority of the Archbishop of Nazareth within his diocese. An understanding of this unique image may thus enable a better understanding of the complex influences of patronage on Crusader art and of the intricate ways in which images participated in the political and ecclesiastical struggle for authority in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.

Acknowledgment

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Notes

- 1 For the history of the church after 1187 see Denys Pringle, "Nazareth—Cathedral Church of the Annunciation," in *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus*, (ed.) Denys Pringle, 4 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993–2009), vol. 2, pp. 120–23.
- 2 On the discovery of the capitals, see Prosper Viaud, *Nazareth et ses deux églises: de l'Annonciation et de Saint-Joseph* (Paris: Picard, 1910), pp. 55–6.
- 3 Bellarmino Bagatti, *Excavations in Nazareth: Volume II, From the Twelfth Century until Today* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1969), pp. 31–70, 89–129.
- 4 For an extensive discussion of the iconography of the polygonal capitals see Jaroslav Folda, *The Nazareth Capitals and the Crusader Shrine of the Annunciation* (University Park, P.A.: Pennsylvania State University Press, for the College Art Association of America, 1986), pp. 31–43.
- 5 See Folda, *The Nazareth Capitals*, pp. 43–51; Moshe Barasch, *Crusader Figural Sculpture in the Holy Land: Twelfth Century Examples from Acre, Nazareth and Belvoir Castle* (Ramat-Gan: Massada Press, 1971), pp. 146–53.
- 6 Lucy-Anne Hunt, "Excommunicata Generatione: Christian Imagery of Mission and Conversion of the Muslim Other between the First Crusade and the Early Fourteenth Century," *Al-Masaq* 8 (1995): pp. 79–153, esp. at pp. 95–101.
- 7 Barasch, *Crusader Figural Sculpture*, pp. 69–71; Tom S.R. Boase, "The Arts in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 2 (1938–9): pp. 8–12.
- 8 Paul Deschamps, "La sculpture française en Palestine et en Syrie à l'époque des Croisades," *Monuments et mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot* 31 (1930): p. 106; Paul Deschamps, *Terre Sainte Romane* (Pierre-qui-Vire: Zodiaque, 1964), p. 255; Boase, "The Arts," p. 11; Tom S.R. Boase, "Ecclesiastical Art in the Crusader States in Palestine and Syria," in *A History of the Crusades*, (ed.) Kenneth M. Setton, 6 vols. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969–90), vol. 4, pp. 102–5; Alan Borg, "Romanesque Sculpture from the Rhone Valley to the Jordan Valley," in *Crusader Art in the Twelfth Century*, (ed.) Jaroslav Folda (Jerusalem: The British School of Archaeology, 1982), pp. 97–121, especially pp. 101–2.
- 9 Jaroslav Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 430; Folda, *The Nazareth Capitals*, pp. 1–31. It is interesting to note that already in 1910 Prosper Viaud had suggested that "Ces chapiteaux étaient donc placés aux angles d'un monument carré ou rectangulaire" (Viaud, *Nazareth*, p. 149).
- 10 Camille Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés dans le royaume de Jérusalem: architecture religieuse et civile*, 2 vols (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1925–28), vol. 2, p. 302; Deschamps, "La sculpture française," p. 99; Boase, "The Arts," p. 10; Boase, "Ecclesiastical Art," p. 103.
- 11 Zehava Jacoby, "The Composition of the Nazareth Workshop and the Recruitment of Sculptors for the Holy Land in the Twelfth Century," in *The Meeting of Two Worlds—Cultural Exchange Between East and West During the Period of the Crusades*, (ed.) Vladimir P. Goss (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, 1986), pp. 146–7, 152; Zehava Jacoby, "Le portail de l'église de l'annonciation de Nazareth au XIIe siècle—un essai de reconstitution," *Monuments et mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot* 64 (1981): p. 191–4.
- 12 For the relation to *loca sancta* in crusader art, see Bianca Kühnel, *Crusader Art of the Twelfth Century: A Geographical, an Historical, or an Art Historical Notion?* (Berlin: G. Mann, 1994), pp. 161–3. See also the classic treatment of the subject by Weitzman (although dealing with Late Antique and Byzantine art): Kurt Weitzmann, "'Loca Sancta' and the Representational Arts of Palestine," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 28 (1974): pp. 31–55. For implications of the relation to *loca sancta* for the study of crusader icons, see the important discussion by Lisa Mahoney in the present volume.
- 13 Boase, "The Arts," pp. 9–10; Boase, "Ecclesiastical Art," pp. 102–5.
- 14 Barasch, *Crusader Figural Sculpture*, pp. 150–54.

- 15 Adolph Katzenellenbogen, "The Central Tympanum at Vézelay: Its Encyclopedic Meaning and its Relation to the First Crusade," *Art Bulletin* 26, no. 3 (1944): pp. 141–51.
- 16 William J. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia c. 1095–c. 1187* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008).
- 17 Jacoby, "Composition of the Nazareth Workshop," pp. 146–8; Jacoby, "Le portail," pp. 160–69.
- 18 Folda, *Art of the Crusaders 1098–1187*, pp. 414–15.
- 19 Folda, *Art of the Crusaders 1098–1187*, p. 415; Folda, *The Nazareth Capitals*, pp. 20–21.
- 20 Circa 1231 the text known as *Les Pelerinages por aler en Iherusalem* states that "Et a Tortouse est la premiere yglise de Nostre Dame, et la fuerent li apostre, et est faite l'yglise a la semblance de cele de Nazareth, etcetera," while a few decades later the text of *Les Chemins et les pelerinages de la Terre Sainte* similarly states that "A Tortosa est la primera yglise, qui firent faire les apostles a la semblance de cele de Nazaret." For the texts and for Folda's conclusion see Folda, *The Nazareth Capitals*, pp. 35–6.
- 21 For crusader architecture and sculpture as manifesting the political attitudes and intentions of its patrons see Nurith Kenaan-Kedar, "Symbolic Meaning in Crusader Architecture: The Twelfth-Century Dome of the Holy Sepulcher Church in Jerusalem," *Cahiers archéologiques* 34 (1986): pp. 109–17; Nurith Kenaan-Kedar, "Armenian Architecture in Twelfth-Century Jerusalem," *Assaph: Studies in Art History* 3 (1998): pp. 77–92; Annemarie Weyl Carr, "The Mural Paintings of Abu Ghosh and the Patronage of Manuel Comnenus in the Holy Land," in *Crusader Art in the Twelfth Century*, (ed.) Jaroslav Folda (Jerusalem: The British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, 1982), pp. 215–44. An important relevant discussion of the interpretation of crusading imagery (although in the west) is: Elizabeth Lapina, "La représentation de la bataille d'Antioche (1098) sur les peintures murales de Poncé-sur-le-Loir," *Cahiers de civilisation medievale* 52 (2009): pp. 137–57. For a fascinating example of the way in which even an object such as a luxurious drinking cup can carry a complicated political and dynastical message in the service of its crusader patron see Chapter 4 by Richard Leson in the present volume.
- 22 Theodoric, *Libellus de Locis Sanctis*, (ed.) Robert B. C. Huygens, *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis* 139 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1994), pp. 192–3; Pringle, "Nazareth," p. 119.
- 23 Daniel the Abbot, "The Life and Journey of Daniel, Abbot of the Russian Land," trans. William F. Ryan, in *Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, (ed.) John Wilkinson (London: Hakluyt Society, 1988), pp. 163–4; Pringle, "Nazareth," p. 118.
- 24 Pringle, "Nazareth," pp. 118–38. This assumption was strengthened by the findings of the excavations. See Bagatti, *Excavations*, p. 70.
- 25 One such problem is that in John 21:7 we read that when Peter realized it was the Lord standing on the shore he "girt his fisher's coat unto him." However, on the Nazareth capital Peter is dressed in a rich garment which does not seem to be a representation of a fisher's coat. Likewise, there is no suggestion of the fisher's net full of fish. Another possible identification is the miraculous fishing (Luke 5:10–11), but according to these latter verses Christ is with the disciples in the boat, and there is no mention of Peter going into the water. A third possibility is that of "the sinking Peter" (Matthew 14:24–33). However, according to the Gospel text Christ should be walking on the water and grasping Peter's hand, and not standing securely on the shore. In taking all this into account, Viaud, Deschamps, and Folda, among others, suggest identifying the scene as John 21, while Barasch supports the identification of "the sinking Peter." See Barasch, *Crusader Figural Sculpture*, pp. 118–37; Viaud, *Nazareth*, p. 58; Deschamps, "La sculpture française," p. 104; Deschamps, *Terre Sainte Romane*, p. 251; Folda, *The Nazareth Capitals*, pp. 38–9.
- 26 Bagatti, *Excavations*, pp. 102–5.
- 27 It is interesting to note that there is evidence for the existence of towers as part of the crusader church of Nazareth, a possibility which strengthens the contention that the model of the church in St Peter's hand was indeed meant to represent not a model of a general church but the specific Church of the Annunciation in Nazareth. Thus, for example, in 1620 Quaresmi noticed in the west part of the church the ruins of a belfry. Based on this evidence and on excavations at the site, Bagatti raised the possibility that there was not one but two towers at the west end of the church (Bagatti, *Excavations*, pp. 47–8). In the eastern part of the church, the distance between the piers of the nave arcade and the apses is greater than the width of a nave bay, suggesting to Viaud that this location featured a crossing of a transept, and that it might have been surmounted by a cupola, as in Saint-Anne (Viaud, *Nazareth*, pp. 63–6; Bagatti, *Excavations*, p. 55). Pringle suggests that a tower might equally likely have been built over the crossing (Pringle, "Nazareth," p. 125).
- 28 Folda, *Art of the Crusaders 1098–1187*, p. 417; Pringle, "Nazareth," p. 123. Due to this fact Bagatti sees the model in St Peter's hands as "truly symbolic," an observation that matches with his notion that the image relates to general crusader ideas regarding "the unity of the church under the one church of Rome" (Bagatti, *Excavations*, pp. 102–5).

- 29 Jacoby, stating that the round appearance of the apses was not visible from the outside, concluded that the model cannot reflect the plan of the Church of the Annunciation. She therefore interprets it as representing a more abstract concept, that of "l'Église des fidèles" (Jacoby, "Le portail," p. 166, especially note 71). I disagree with this conclusion, as will be explained further on.
- 30 A similar phenomenon was already described by Richard Krautheimer in his classic study of copies of the Holy Sepulchre. See Richard Krautheimer, "Introduction to an Iconography of Architecture," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942): pp. 1–33. See also Paul Crossley, "Medieval Architecture and Meaning: the Limits of Iconography," *The Burlington Magazine* 130, no. 1019 (1988): pp. 121–61.
- 31 Elizabeth Lipsmeyer, "The Donor and his Church Model in Medieval Art, from Early Christian Times to the Late Romanesque Period" (PhD diss., Rutgers University, 1981), pp. 112–94.
- 32 Lipsmeyer, "The Donor and his Church Model," pp. 165–72.
- 33 Lipsmeyer, "The Donor and his Church Model," pp. 171–2.
- 34 Folda, *Art of the Crusaders 1098–1187*, p. 431.
- 35 Jacoby, "Composition of the Nazareth Workshop," pp. 148–9; Jacoby, "Le portail," pp. 160–69.
- 36 Folda, *Art of the Crusaders 1098–1187*, p. 432.
- 37 Bagatti, *Excavations*, pp. 102–5.
- 38 Lipsmeyer, "The Donor and his Church Model," pp. 34–89.
- 39 Jacoby, "Composition of the Nazareth Workshop," p. 148.
- 40 For the image of St Peter in western art, with special reference to the keys, see Carolyn Kinder Carr, "Aspects of the Iconography of Saint Peter in Medieval Art of Western Europe to the Early Thirteenth Century" (PhD diss., Case Western Reserve University, 1978), pp. 14–18.
- 41 Heinrich Hagenmeyer, (ed.), *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088–1100* (Innsbruck: Innsbruck Verlag der Wagner'schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1901), p. 179. The translation is from Jonathan Riley-Smith, "The First Crusade and Saint-Peter," in *Outremer—Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem Presented to Joshua Prawer*, (ed.) Benjamin Z. Kedar, Hans E. Mayer, and Raymond C. Smail (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1982), p. 52.
- 42 Yael Katzir, "The Patriarch of Jerusalem. Primate of the Latin Kingdom," in *Crusade and Settlement*, (ed.) Peter W. Edbury (Cardiff: University College Press, 1985), pp. 169–75; Bernard Hamilton, "The Latin Church in the Crusader States," in *East and West in the Crusader States: Context—Contacts—Confrontations*, (ed.) Krijnie Ciggaar, Adelbert Davids, and Herman Teule, 3 vols (Leuven: Peeters, 1996–2003), vol. 1, p. 6.
- 43 Bernard Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States—the Secular Church* (London: Variorum Publications, 1980), p. 60; Titus Tobler and Augustus Molinier (eds), *Itinera Hierosolymitana* (Geneva: Société de l'Orient Latin, 1879), 1:343.
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- 59 I wish to thank Dr. Elizabeth Lapina for her useful suggestions in this regard.
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- 61 Hill, *Gesta Francorum*, p. 66; Guibert of Nogent, *Historia quae dicitur Gesta Dei per Francos*, p. 204; Baldric of Bourgueil, *Historia Jerosolimitana*, Recueil des historiens des croisades, Historiens occidentaux 4 (Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 1874), p. 74; Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitana itinere*, (ed.) John H. Hill and Laurita L. Hill (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1977), p. 108; Riley-Smith, "Saint-Peter," pp. 50–51.
- 62 Riley-Smith, "Saint-Peter," p. 58.
- 63 Caffaro, *Annales Januenses*, in *Annali genovesi di Caffaro e de'suoi Continuatori, dal 1099 al 1293*, (ed.) Luigi T. Belgrano (Genoa: Tip. del R. Istituto Sordo-Mutti, 1890–1929), vol. 1, p. 10; Riley-Smith, "Saint-Peter," p. 53. On the capture of Caesarea, see also Harry W. Hazard, "Caesarea and the Crusades," in *The Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima*, (ed.) Charles T. Fritsch, *Studies in the History of Caesarea Maritima* 1 (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1975), pp. 79–83.
- 64 See Lipsmeyer, "The Donor and his Church Model," pp. 88–9 and note 111. For San Lorenzo in Lucina see Richard Krautheimer, Wolfgang Frankl, and Spencer Corbett, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae: The Early Christian Basilicas of Rome (IV–IX century)*, 5 vols (Vatican City: Pontificio istituto di archeologia Cristiana, 1937–77), vol. 2, pp. 159–84. Two additional relevant images, at Étampes and at Autun, will be discussed separately further on.
- 65 For an image of this St Peter see Jacoby, "The Composition of the Nazareth Workshop," figure 18.
- 66 Paul Williamson, *Gothic Sculpture 1140–1300* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 18–19.
- 67 Kathleen D. Nolan, "Narrative in the Capital Frieze of Notre-Dame at Étampes," *Art Bulletin* 71 (1989): pp. 180–81; Kathleen D. Nolan, "The Early Gothic Portal of Notre-Dame in Étampes" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1985), pp. 131–82.
- 68 Nolan, "Capital Frieze," p. 181. For the concept of *vita apostolica* in Romanesque sculpture see Ilene H. Forsyth, "The Vita Apostolica and Romanesque Sculpture: Some Preliminary Observations," *Gesta* 25 (1986): pp. 75–82; Leon Pressouyre, "St. Bernard to St. Francis: Monastic Ideals and Iconographic Programs in the Cloister," *Gesta* 12 (1973): pp. 71–92.
- 69 It should be noted that Nolan herself claimed that the image of the Étampes St Peter is of highly questionable authenticity and probably not medieval, basing her claim on the fact that it is "implausibly well preserved and also rather slick in appearance" and that the stone from which it is carved does not match that of the south portal. While, as already mentioned, Williamson does not accept this contention, I am not in a position to evaluate the authenticity of the figure. However, if it is not authentic, the uniqueness of the Nazareth iconography becomes even clearer. See Nolan, *The Early Gothic Portal of Notre-Dame in Étampes*, p. 236.
- 70 Neil Stratford, "Autun and Vienne," in *Studies in Burgundian Romanesque Sculpture*, (ed.) Neil Stratford (London: Pindar Press, 1998), p. 373.

- 71 These comprise two monolithic limestone reliefs depicting the liberal arts of Geometry and Astronomy, identified by inscriptions, as well as two historiated capitals with episodes from the story of the Judgment of Solomon (Stratford, "Autun and Vienne," pp. 378–81).
- 72 Stratford sees the ensemble as the work of the workshop of William, which decorated the Church of Saint-André-le-Bas in Vienne circa 1152 (Stratford, "Autun and Vienne," pp. 382–3). On Saint-André-le-Bas and the work of William see Victor Lassalle, "L'Église et le cloître de Saint-André-le-Bas," *Congres archéologique de France* 130 (1972): pp. 486–507; Ricki D. Weinberger, "St. Maurice and St-André-le-bas at Vienne: Dynamics of Artistic Exchange in Two Romanesque Workshops," *Gesta* 23, no. 2 (1984): pp. 75–86.
- 73 Stratford, "Autun and Vienne," p. 375; Noëlle Deflou, Jean-Charles Picard, and Christian Sapin, "Autun," in *Les chanoines dans la ville. Recherches sur la topographie des quartiers canoniaux en France*, (ed.) Jean-Charles Picard (Paris: De Boccard, 1994), pp. 163–8.
- 74 Forsyth, "Vita Apostolica," p. 75.
- 75 Peter Damian, *Contra Clericos Regulares Proprietarios*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina* 145 (Paris, 1853), col. 486–7; Marie-Humbert Vicaire, *L'Imitation des apôtres: moines, chanoines, mendiants (IV^e–XIII^e siècle)* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1963), pp. 58–9; Forsyth, "Vita Apostolica," p. 75.
- 76 Forsyth, "Vita Apostolica," p. 76; Chantal Fraïsse, "Le cloître de Moissac a-t-il un programme?," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 50 (2007): pp. 247–57; Leah Rutchick, "Visual Memory and Historiated Sculpture in the Moissac Cloister," in *Der mittelalterliche Kreuzgang — The Medieval Cloister — Le cloître au Moyen Age*, (ed.) Peter Klein (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2004), pp. 190–96.
- 77 Bagatti, *Excavations*, pp. 101–2.
- 78 On this see Folda, *Art of the Crusaders 1098–1187*, p. 435. Good reproductions can be found in Folda, *The Nazareth Capitals*, plates 54–7.
- 79 Folda, *Art of the Crusaders 1098–1187*, pp. 435–6.
- 80 Jacoby, "The Composition of the Nazareth Workshop," pp. 146–8; Jacoby, "Le portail," pp. 160–69.



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The Vision of the Cross and the Crusades in England before 1189

John Munns

John France asks how it was that the idea of “salvation by a sustained act of violence,” as distinct from the more established concept of just war as a necessary evil, was so readily embraced following Pope Urban’s call to arms at the Council of Clermont in 1095.¹ Part of the answer surely lies in the Pope’s timely appropriation of prevailing currents in both theology and devotional practice, particularly with regard to Christ’s Passion. This served not only to mark out crusading as a new thing at the turn of the twelfth century but continued to engage it in lively dialogue throughout to ensure that the theology of the cross and the ideal of crusading remained mutually formative. Such an insight is hardly revelatory, but it is hoped that the material presented in this chapter will enhance appreciation of the significant extent to which this was a visual and imaginative process. Taking the English milieu as a case study, the article adopts a broad interpretation of visual culture, giving particular focus to aspects more often accorded an ancillary role in art-historical investigation, such as liturgy, clothing, ritual, and relic culture.² Towards the end of the article these elements will then be related to other developments in the theological and devotional consideration of the crucifixion to present the evolution of the crusading ideal as something of a “spiritual syndrome” fostered by particular devotional, visual, and intellectual currents of the twelfth century.

Jerusalem in the English Imagination

The extent of English participation in the First Crusade itself is a matter of debate. What is clear is that the king, William Rufus, and Anselm, the archbishop of Canterbury, were united in their reticence, albeit for very different reasons. For William, the problem was practical and domestic; the crusade was a distraction from his primary preoccupation with the fragile security of his realm. For Anselm, the issue was a theological one; he was opposed to any suggestion that the new movement could provide a quick

spiritual substitute for the only true route to Jerusalem, namely a lifetime's dedication in the cloister.³ The majority of the Anglo-Norman aristocracy followed the king's lead and stayed at home, but that should not be taken to mean that Urban's call found no ready resonance in the English imagination.⁴

The evidence for a longstanding attachment to the Holy Land in England before the advent of the crusades is considerable.⁵ As elsewhere in Europe, pilgrimage to Jerusalem from the British Isles is attested from the early Middle Ages. Evidence of Anglo-Saxon pilgrimage stretches back at least to the eighth century when, if the accounts of St. Willibald are to be believed, the journey was undertaken by significant numbers.⁶ Earlier still, a fascination with the "places where [Christ's] feet have trod" is clear from the writings of Adomnán and Bede.⁷ Their interest is far from being purely theological or intellectual. Bede's descriptions, like Adomnán's, are sensory and evocative, dwelling with obvious delight on the tales of exotic gardens and fragrant trees near Jericho oozing balsams and oil.⁸ A ready enthusiasm for the physical material of the Holy Land is clear. Just as the landscape is marked by sweet sensations, so are holy things: when the casket containing the wood of the cross in Constantinople is opened on the altar, "a marvellous odour permeates the whole church [as] a fragrant fluid like oil flows out of the knots of the holy wood."⁹ Enthusiasm for the relics of the Passion and their sensual effect is, perhaps, unsurprising, but Bede's devotion extended to relics of the land itself. Lacking the opportunity to make his own pilgrimage, Bede's desire to taste and see the treasures of the East was sated in part by his ownership of some of its fruits, including pepper and incense: prized possessions, which he famously distributed with care on his deathbed.¹⁰

By the twelfth century, not only the spirit of Bede's enthusiasm but also his means of addressing it remained potent. Separated from him by over four and a half centuries of time, but by only a few miles of land, the aged hermit Godric of Finchale would experience a similar rapture produced by the exotic sensations of Jerusalem. His biographer, Reginald of Durham, recalls how, at the end of his life, Godric received similar souvenirs of the Holy Land from a recently returned fellow pilgrim. Reginald, who witnessed the event, refers to them as "simple relics" and relates that in his delight Godric "kissed ... and re-kissed them, giving vent to the deep emotions of all that Jerusalem meant for him."¹¹ As Godric lay dying at Finchale, the dispute between Henry II and Thomas Becket was reaching its bloody climax to the south. It may not be a coincidence that Bede's evocation of the Church of the Anastasis in Jerusalem, in which "the colour of the tomb and the sepulchre are a mingled white and red," finds a visual echo in the red and white marble columns that came to demarcate the shrine of Becket, by then England's premier Christo-mimetic martyr, at Canterbury.¹²

For three centuries prior to the launch of the crusades, the topography of the Holy City had influenced both the architecture and the liturgy of the Latin Church, and the work of Barbara Raw and others has shown how Anglo-Saxon England was no exception.¹³ The liturgical re-enactments of Holy Week offered an annual opportunity for "pilgrimage by proxy," but the architectural and decorative requirements of these focal liturgical activities,



particularly, although not exclusively, the development of Holy Cross altars and monumental roods, ensured that church buildings and their furnishings carried a constant allusion to the sites and spirituality of the Holy City. As the twelfth century progressed, this association of church buildings with the site of the Passion would be made even more explicit in some places by the construction of round churches in direct imitation of the Holy Sepulcher, such as those that remain in Cambridge, Northampton, and the Temple in London.¹⁴

The victories of the First Crusade had sufficient resonance in England to inspire a proliferation of images of St. George, commemorating his apparition to the crusading army at Antioch in 1098. Examples in sculptural relief and wall painting survive at Fordington in Dorset (Figure 3.1) and Hardham in Sussex, respectively.¹⁵ Whilst the more familiar depiction of George slaying a dragon began to appear in England in the course of the twelfth century, in these early examples his attention is focused squarely on groups of armed Saracens.¹⁶ The relation of these images to the First Crusade is confirmed by the Fordington tympanum, which shows one of the earliest depictions of England's future patron saint displaying the crusaders' cross on the banner of his lance. Regardless of the overall level of their involvement, the English, like the rest of Christendom, benefited from the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099, and over the subsequent decades pilgrims and *crucesignati*, from England as from elsewhere, undertook the journey East.¹⁷

3.1 Tympanum above the south door of St. George's Church, Fordington, Dorset, early twelfth century. Courtesy of E. Lapina.

"Conquer in this Sign": Relics of the True Cross

One aspect of the Passion cults in circulation in the British Isles since at least the eighth century, ready to be revived and reinforced in the twelfth, was

the legend that the finder of the True Cross and protector of the Holy Places, the empress St. Helena, started out life as a British princess.¹⁸ Helena's son Constantine was first proclaimed emperor in York and thus in England's memory the founder of Christendom was "England's Emperor." By the twelfth century, chroniclers such as Henry of Huntingdon and Geoffrey of Monmouth breathed new life into England's claim to the finder of the True Cross and her visionary son by ties of blood.¹⁹ The English cult of St. Helena seems to have been particularly powerful in the North, with three-quarters of the one hundred or more churches dedicated in her honor located in the dioceses of York, Carlisle, Durham, Coventry and Lichfield, and Lincoln.²⁰

One of these, St. Helen's, in Church Kelloe, County Durham, contains an unusual monument to its patron saint. The carved stone cross now standing against the north sanctuary wall was discovered in fragments in the nineteenth century, its stones having been used in the construction of the south wall of the chancel (Figure 3.2).²¹ Usually dated towards the end of the twelfth century, the sculpture's similarity to a carved lunette from York Minster of circa 1170 might push its origin slightly earlier.²² Whilst the identity of one of the figures on the front of the cross remains a matter of conjecture, the overall scheme unambiguously depicts the legend of Constantine's vision and Helena's discovery. Three panels on the front of the cross-shaft depict, in ascending order, Helena and the Jew Judas uncovering the cache of crosses in Jerusalem, two saintly figures facing one another (the identity of the figure on the right is apparently Helena, whilst that of the left-hand figure has variously been identified as the Queen of Sheba, *Ecclesia*, Constantine, or another image of Helena),²³ and the dreaming Constantine beholding the cross-head and its legend to conquer in its sign. The cross was originally jeweled and brightly painted. A stone reliquary would be a rarity (although not unique), but the center of the cross-head contains a cavity that could well have once housed a relic.²⁴ The cavity is flanked by an inscription of the abbreviated legend "in hoc/vinces," and it may be that the omission of the usual "signum" can be explained by the presence of the relic. The legend appears thus abbreviated, for example, on the Stavelot Triptych, one of the most famous twelfth-century True Cross reliquaries.²⁵ In each case, there would be no need to mention the "sign" in which the observer is to "conquer" (that is, the wood of the cross), because a piece of the cross itself occupied the central space: the "hoc" would refer to the relic.

The absence of any written record of a True Cross relic at Kelloe would not necessarily rule its presence out. The prevalence of True Cross relics in twelfth-century England is somewhat unclear. Since the ninth century, such relics had been highly prized and, from the evidence of those that can be reliably documented, often indicative of their owners' high status. All of the documented relics of the True Cross in England prior to the Conquest were the possession or gift of royalty.²⁶ The gift of one to Alfred the Great by Pope Marinus in 883 is recorded in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.²⁷ The gift of another by Hugh Capet to Alfred's grandson King Athelstan is famously commemorated in the Athelstan Psalter.²⁸ Athelstan's relic was apparently large enough to



3.2 Stone cross in the sanctuary of St. Helen's Church, Church Kelloe, County Durham, late twelfth century. Courtesy of J. Munns.

divide, as records exist of his donation of separate portions to Malmesbury, Exeter, Westminster, and Milton Abbas in Dorset.²⁹ The donation of a True Cross relic and its magnificent reliquary to the New Minster in Winchester by King Cnut is recorded in similar fashion in the New Minster *Liber Vitae*.³⁰ The "Greek shrine" of Cnut's wife Emma, recorded in the same document, contained another.³¹ The future Queen Margaret of Scotland, granddaughter of the Anglo-Saxon king Edmund Ironside, probably brought her so-called Black Rood to England from Hungary in 1057.³² Finally, around the same time, Harold Godwinson (not at that point royal, but the next best thing) brought a relic of the True Cross from Rome for his new church at Waltham.³³ This royal appetite continued beyond the Conquest. Henry I made a direct request to the Byzantine emperor for a portion of the cross in 1118. The request was granted and the relic eventually passed into the collection at Reading Abbey.³⁴ King Stephen's brother, Henry of Blois, donated True Cross relics to both his cathedral at Winchester (twice) and his abbey at Glastonbury.³⁵ Margaret of Scotland called for the Black Rood to be brought to her on her deathbed in 1093 and it subsequently gave its name to the abbey and palace of Holyrood in Edinburgh.³⁶ On the borders of Norman England, the regalia of the Kings of Scots, the High Kings of Ireland and the Princes of Gwynedd in Wales all contained relics of the True Cross by the end of the twelfth century. In an act that stands as testament to their enduring symbolic worth in the context of royal authority, the Black Rood and the Welsh *Groes Naid* or Cross of Neith were both plundered at the end of the thirteenth century along with the respective regalia by Edward I.³⁷ The Irish kings' cross reliquary, the Cross of Cong, commissioned by Turlough O'Connor to house a relic sent from Rome in 1123, remains (although now devoid of its relic) in Dublin.³⁸

On the other hand, the existence of otherwise unaccounted for reliquaries suggests that by the end of the twelfth century, at least, there were many more True Cross relics in the possession of less exalted individuals and institutions in England. The British Museum houses a pendent reliquary that seems not to relate to any documented relic, and it may be into this category that a relic housed in the Kelloe cross would fall.³⁹ The twelfth century marked the high point of relic acquisition in medieval England and contemporary relic lists show the True Cross to have been a staple of any large collection. As well as those at Exeter, Glastonbury, Westminster, Malmesbury, and Waltham, mentioned above, relics can be traced to the late eleventh- or twelfth-century collections at Bath, Ely, St Albans, Peterborough, Thorney, and York.⁴⁰ Reading had two portions of the True Cross, Winchester had up to four.⁴¹

The significance of these True Cross relics for the promotion of crusading specifically is unclear, although, unsurprisingly, the double-transverse image of the "mother relic" in Jerusalem routinely appears on the seals of the heads of the English priory of the Knights Hospitaller after their arrival in England in 1140.⁴² Their proliferation, however, alongside other Passion relics such as nails, thorns, and fragments of the Holy Sepulcher, must have enhanced a sense of physical connection with the site of Christ's death and burial. What is clear is that when it came to the fight itself the relics found a ready use,

providing inspiration and protection in equal measure. A relic of the True Cross was carried into battle at least 31 times within the Kingdom of Jerusalem before 1187, and it was a practice in which Anglo-Norman crusaders shared.⁴³ When the first substantial contingent of English *crucesignati* left Dartmouth as part of the Second Crusade in May 1147 such a relic may well have been amongst their company; certainly one of their chaplains had one to hand with which to rouse the troops at the Siege of Lisbon two months later.⁴⁴

The Sign of the Cross: The Making and Marking of Crusaders

As William Purkis has argued, the increasing desire for mimetic interaction with the crucified Christ in twelfth-century spirituality was an essential component of the development of the crusading idea into a sustainable ideal.⁴⁵ The intellectual and devotional trajectory of this Christo-mimetic movement will be considered further in the last section of this article. First, it will be useful to attempt to discern its shadow in the rites and processes associated with the taking of the cross.

Some scholars have pointed to the relatively late appearance of formulae for the bestowal of the cross within rites for the blessing of pilgrims as evidence of the near absence of a crusading mentality, as opposed to a more traditional and unadorned enthusiasm for pilgrimage, in England before the later twelfth century.⁴⁶ Yet the pilgrim's scrip and staff were traditionally received at the moment of departure, whereas the assumption of the cross, and with it the commitment to go on crusade, was more often undertaken sometime earlier as a mark of dedication and intent.⁴⁷ This was still the case as late as the Third Crusade, by which time England had both a king and archbishop (Richard I and Baldwin of Ford, respectively) who actively embraced the crusading ideal.⁴⁸ Roger of Howden (for whom the Crusade was always a "pilgrimage") records that, despite having received the cross in 1187, King Richard still had need to receive the scrip and staff immediately before setting out for the East three years later.⁴⁹ If the cross and the scrip and staff were often bestowed separately, the late appearance of a unified rite is unsurprising. The bestowal of the cross makes its first appearance in an English rite for the blessing of pilgrims in a copy of the Ely Pontifical dating from the second half of the twelfth century.⁵⁰ Towards the end of the century, provision for the bestowal of the cross was then added to a pilgrim rite in an earlier manuscript now at Trinity College, Cambridge, and a third version of the combined rite was included in a pontifical in Magdalen College, Oxford.⁵¹ Even here, however, the formulae for the bestowal of the cross are remarkable both for their variety and their brevity. Simply adding to or adapting those used for the blessing of pilgrims for some time, the impression they give is of a tendency on the part of priests to extemporize upon one of a number of established formulae long known by heart.⁵²

As far as the evidence for earlier practice is concerned, much is made of the example of Godric of Finchale, who twice received a cross before going

on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, but for whom there is no evidence that he ever fought in the Holy Land. That Godric seems to have received the cross twice may account for the fact that on his second journey he bore both “the banner of the Lord’s cross” (*Dominicae vexillum cruces*) on his clothes and carried a small cross before him.⁵³ It also suggests that the crosses received and borne could be of a variety of types. But was Godric a crusader? Would he have recognized the category or would he have seen his practice as no different to that of the thousands of Jerusalem pilgrims over the centuries? Jonathan Riley-Smith sees Godric’s reception of the cross as indicating that he was a crusader; for Christopher Tyerman it implies no such thing.⁵⁴ William Purkis, rather sensibly, acknowledges that it is impossible to know for certain, although he is mistaken to assume the text of Reginald’s *vita* must have been compiled after Godric’s death.⁵⁵ Even if questions of whether Godric previously had been a pirate or the sea captain who rescued Baldwin I of Jerusalem after the Battle of Ramla in 1102 are left aside, Godric’s spirituality was notable for being both cross-centered and martial.⁵⁶ A seafaring merchant for 16 years who also worked in the crusader hospital in Jerusalem, if not an armed crusader himself, at Finchale Godric continued to wear a coat of mail over his hermit’s hair shirt.⁵⁷ His spiritual warfare with devils and demons was legendary even in his lifetime, and his victory as often as not involved repelling them with the sign or image of the cross.⁵⁸ The visual focus of Godric’s oratory was a wooden crucifix set on a beam, which he may well have fashioned himself. In time he came to own a second, gilded cross, brought as a gift by a visiting craftsman; there was also the cross he had carried before himself on his journey to Jerusalem.⁵⁹ None of these attributes are unique to Godric. Saints repelling demons with the sign of the cross were recorded long before the crusades,⁶⁰ as was the customary adoption of a cruciform pose, face down on the floor, by penitents and would-be martyrs;⁶¹ mail vests (*lorica*) were worn by a number of Godric’s eremitic contemporaries.⁶² Yet, even accounting for Reginald’s hagiographical intentions, the combination of martial and cruciform imagery that pervades his account of Godric’s particular brand of Christo-mimesis is striking. It also has the ring of truth for a saint who had twice taken the cross and for whom Jerusalem remained a “type of heaven’s happiness for which [his] soul was forever panting.”⁶³

Generally speaking, the taking of the cross was a communal event, whereas the assumption of the scrip and staff was more private. Certainly this was the case by the time of the Third Crusade. The most dramatic example was the conference at Gisors, at which Henry II and Philip of France were reconciled in order to take the cross and avenge the fall of Jerusalem the previous year. Roger of Howden records how a cross appeared in the heavens, Constantinian style, above the two kings as they made their peace, at which point “multitudes of persons rushed in whole troops” to join their crusade.⁶⁴ To shouts of “The cross! The cross!” the followers of the king of England adopted white crosses, the French red, and the Flemish green. Roger went on the crusade himself, and compiled his chronicle on his return. He is notably less credulous than many of his contemporary chroniclers; his accounts are embellished by far

fewer visions and miracles than those, say, of Gerald of Wales or Walter Map. Perhaps this should accord the potency of those legends he does relate a greater significance. The appearance of the cross at Gisors is one of only two visions that Roger records for 1188. The second, again of Christ on the cross, took place at Dunstable a little later and was also observed by large numbers. The details of Roger's report are intriguing. Christ, he says, appeared in the heavens, hanging on the cross "from the ninth hour until twilight," blood flowed from the wounds in his hands, feet, and side, and on his head he wore the crown of thorns.⁶⁵ The visceral, bloody nature of the vision as recounted by Roger is of a type that would be repeated before the end of the century, but that would have been unimaginable a century before.⁶⁶ Even when St. Bernard or St. Aelred wrote about envisioning effluence from the wounds of Christ in the mid-twelfth century they spoke in terms of milk and honey, echoing the impassioned imagery of the Song of Songs. Roger's observation that Christ was crowned with thorns is even more remarkable at a time before images of Christ wearing the crown of thorns on the cross had appeared in English art, and may well reflect iconography observed on his travels in the Levant and only now beginning to gain currency in the West.⁶⁷

In the same year as these visions occurred as reported by Roger, Gerald of Wales accompanied archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury on his preaching tour of Gerald's homeland. Although inevitably smaller in scale, Gerald reports similar public gatherings in which crosses were blessed, received, and sewn onto clothing.⁶⁸ Whilst a cloth badge sewn onto the shoulder of a garment appears to have been the usual means by which the crusader's cross was displayed, as had been the case at Clermont prior to the First Crusade and at Vézelay prior to the Second, alternatives remained.⁶⁹ On one occasion, a number of youths who had ignored the archbishop's personal supplication suffered almost immediate misfortune and "the cross which they had previously scorned of their own free will they marked on their own bodies."⁷⁰ It is not clear that the marking of crosses by the young men "on their own bodies" should be taken literally, but such a tradition had existed since the earliest crusades.⁷¹ The marking of the cross on the body, as well as the prostration of the body in the form of the cross (which may have been the form in which Gerald threw himself at Baldwin's feet when making his own vow) emphasize the extent to which the penitential aspect of crusading had become established.⁷² Gerald records the conversion and recruitment of "some of the most notorious criminals" including robbers and highwaymen; of murderers encountered *en route* being "signed with the cross ... as a punishment for their crime"; and of a woman who "brazenly prevented" her husband from receiving the cross being punished with the death of her baby son, after which she "made no further objection" and "sewed the sign on his shoulder with her own hands."⁷³ Whilst acts of pilgrimage and crusade had always contained an important penitential element, the increasingly emotive and affective vision of the suffering endured by Christ in the heart of the Holy City current by the end of the twelfth century united the monk, pilgrim, king, and crusader in pursuit of the *imago Christi* to a greater extent than ever before.

Crusading as a Spiritual Syndrome

In adopting the cross of Christ as the mark and symbol of his new enterprise in 1095, Urban II was consciously tapping into a deep vein of cross-centered spirituality that had been building across Europe for more than a century. He did so at a moment that was already poised to prove seminal for the image's continued development. Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury can be seen as the most prominent pioneer of the distinctive (and related) developments in both the theological and devotional attitudes to the crucifixion that emerged towards the end of the eleventh century. Theologically, throughout the 1090s Anselm refined his doctrine of the atonement (the first systematic attempt to explain how, rather than simply that, Christ's death was redemptive) in what was to become his treatise *Cur deus homo*.⁷⁴ Devotionally, he pioneered a newly affective attitude, both within and without the cloister, by the dissemination of collections of his *Prayers and Meditations* across the continent.⁷⁵ This devotional attitude depended on the active engagement of both physical and mental imagery, and, as a central aspect, encouraged increasingly affective, mimetic engagement with the crucified Christ. Anselm's doctrine of the atonement was most immediately significant in its comprehensive rejection of the various "ransom theories" that, although never systematically worked through, had dominated such soteriological discourse as there had been up to the eleventh century.⁷⁶ How conscious Urban was of Anselm's theory, which Anselm had been teaching for some time, is difficult to know. We should note, however, that Boso, the favorite student whose name Anselm was to give to his interlocutor in *Cur deus homo*, was the archbishop's representative at Clermont.⁷⁷ Whilst the influence exerted by Anselm's theory more broadly before the end of the twelfth century was relatively limited, it did encourage the development of more popular alternatives, notably that of Peter Abelard. Abelard's theory promoted the idea of Christ's sacrifice as primarily exemplary, thus further enhancing the theological rationale for Christo-mimetic endeavor.

More influential than his atonement theory in the short term was Anselm's devotional material, which rapidly spawned a host of copies and imitations.⁷⁸ The growth of this affective and mimetic attitude during the subsequent century and more has been extensively documented and analyzed elsewhere.⁷⁹ For our purposes, its significance is twofold. First, the central and most readily engaged image of this new devotional practice was that of the crucified Christ. Second, this mimetic devotional engagement with the cross, as well as the various theories of its theological significance, matured over the long twelfth century in conversation with fundamental iconographical developments in the visual depiction of the crucifixion. These iconographical changes developed over the *longue durée* at a pace that was neither deliberate nor uniform. Nevertheless, with regard to Northern Europe at least, it is near enough to the truth to say that whilst the predominant image of Christ on the cross in the middle of the eleventh century was of a living figure, standing impassive and triumphant, that of the thirteenth century was one of affective suffering, Christ depicted as hanging, sorrowful, and either dying or dead.⁸⁰

Alongside these processes, as party to the conversation, a Christo-mimetic spirituality had developed within which opportunities for hazardous pilgrimage, veneration of the Holy Places, and potential martyrdom fitted all too well. At the height of this process, following his death in 1170, England established its own *petit*-Jerusalem in the cult of Thomas Becket. Echoes of the Holy Sepulcher in the red and white marble of Becket's finished shrine have been noted above. Becket was also known as a devotee of his predecessor Anselm, and a regular user of his affective meditations and prayers.⁸¹ His cult developed along strikingly Christo-mimetic lines. Much of the reason for its flourishing at the expense, for example, of that of Godric who died at Finchale in the same year, can be attributed to the lack of violence at Godric's death. For all his sacrificial piety, Godric died the death of an old man, whereas Becket died a bloody, Christo-mimetic martyr.⁸² Becket seems, in so far as he could, to have stage-managed the journey towards his death to resonate as loudly as possible with that of Christ on the *via dolorosa*.⁸³ It was a resonance that his biographers and iconographers fully embraced. His chaplain Edward Grim has Becket repeating the words of Christ in Gethsemane as he faces his murderers, equates Becket's five assailants with Christ's five wounds, and then lauds Becket as "the sacrificial lamb of God" and the "worthy shepherd" who lays down his life for his sheep.⁸⁴ In similar vein, William Fitzstephen relates Becket's final words as "Into your hand, Lord, I commend my spirit," and Benedict of Peterborough equates the healing properties of the "blood of the lamb of Canterbury," uniquely, with those of the "blood of the lamb of Bethlehem."⁸⁵ The iconography of Becket's martyrdom established itself rapidly and with remarkable uniformity, portraying him struck down at the altar whilst participating in Christ's sacrifice of the Mass despite the fact that he was attacked in a side aisle, clinging to a pillar.⁸⁶ Often Grim is shown holding Becket's primatial cross high above his head.⁸⁷

Whether the spiritual, theological, or ethical trajectories of cross-centered piety would have reached these heights in under a century without the contribution of the movement that has come to be known as the crusades is impossible to know, as is the question of whether the crusades would have developed into a sustainable institution without the theological, devotional, and iconographic developments with regard to the cross that were gaining new traction by the end of the eleventh century. To prove conclusive, the survey undertaken here would need to be expanded considerably. Yet, the visual and material evidence that has been explored, whilst relating only to one corner of the Christian West, serves to emphasize the extent to which devotional and artistic visions of the cross were intimately engaged in a mutually formative conversation with both intellectual culture and the activity of crusading during the twelfth century. In harnessing his call for the liberation and protection of the Holy Land at Clermont to the image and vision of the cross of Christ, Urban was consciously appropriating the only sign of sufficient potency to turn a communal act of aggression into a new path to Christian salvation.

Notes

- 1 John France, "Patronage and the Appeal of the First Crusade," in *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact*, (ed.) Jonathan Phillips (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), p. 5.
- 2 The scholarly literature on the visual image of the cross in the British Isles, as well as in medieval Europe more broadly, is considerable. For the period on which this chapter focuses, see the author's forthcoming monograph, *Cross and Culture in Anglo-Norman England* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2016). Important studies of the image of the cross in northwest Europe up to and including the twelfth century include Celia Chazelle, *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Barbara Raw, *Anglo-Saxon Crucifixion Iconography and the Art of the Monastic Revival* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); and Juliet Mullins et al. (eds), *Envisioning Christ on the Cross: Ireland and the Early Medieval West* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2013). Paul Binski includes a useful study of the image in England through the thirteenth century in *Becket's Crown: Art and Imagination in Gothic England, 1170–1300* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), especially Chapter 9; later developments are considered by Ellen Ross in *The Grief of God: Images of the Suffering Jesus in Late Medieval England* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997). More general histories of the medieval image, relating it particularly to developments in theology and devotional practice, include Richard Viladesau, *The Beauty of the Cross: The Passion of Christ in Theology and the Arts from the Catacombs to the Eve of the Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) and Rachel Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800–1200* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003). Although primarily concerned with the image of the Man of Sorrows, Hans Belting, *The Image and its Public in the Middle Ages: The Form and Function of Early Paintings of the Passion* (New York: Aristide D. Caratzas, 1990), is also relevant. Works which consider the cross in the context of the crusades specifically are detailed as appropriate in the notes that follow.
- 3 With regard to the participation of monks, Anselm was reflecting the views of Urban II, but he was also reacting to the explicit association of "both Jerusalems" in the minds of crusaders by which they considered themselves to be making earthly and spiritual pilgrimages concurrently; see Anselm of Canterbury, *Omnia Opera*, (ed.) F. S. Schmitt, 6 vols (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1946–61), vol. 3, p. 254 and vol. 4, pp. 85–6. See also Aryeh Grabois, "Anselme, l'ancien testament et l'idée de croisade" and James Brundage, "Anselm, Ivo of Chartres and the ideology of the First Crusade," both in *Les mutations socio-culturelles au tournant des XIe-XIIe siècles*, (ed.) Raymonde Foreville (Paris: Éditions du C.N.R.S., 1984), pp. 161–73 and 175–87, respectively; and Richard Southern, *St. Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 169, 172.
- 4 Such Anglo-Norman nobles as did go on the First Crusade generally did so, at least in part, as a result of having already incurred royal displeasure; see Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London: Athlone Press, 1986), pp. 118–19. The other significant group of First Crusaders that could be classed as "English" seems to have been exiled Anglo-Saxons (or Anglo-Scandinavians) in the pay of the Byzantine emperor; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 90–93; Aryeh Grabois, "Anglo-Norman England and the Holy Land," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 7 (1985): pp. 134–6; Christopher J. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), pp. 19, 24–32.
- 5 This stands against the view taken by John France in "Le Rôle de Jérusalem dans la piété du XIe siècle," in *Le partage du monde: échanges et colonisation dans la Méditerranée médiévale*, (ed.) Alain Ducellier and Michel Balard (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1998), pp. 151–61.
- 6 Charles H. Talbot, ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany, Being the Lives of SS. Willibrord, Boniface, Sturm, Leoba and Lebuin, together with the Hodoeporicon of St. Willibald and a selection from the correspondence of St. Boniface* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1954), p. 168.
- 7 Adomnán, *De locis sanctis*, (ed.) Denis Meehan, *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae* 3 (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1958, reprinted 1983); Bede, "De locis sanctis," (ed.) Johannes Fraipont, in *Itineraria et alia geographica*, (ed.) Paul Geyer et al., *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* 175 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1965), pp. 251–80. The text of Bede's *De Locis Sanctis* is translated in W. Trent Foley and Arthur G. Holder (eds and trans.), *Bede: A Biblical Miscellany* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999), pp. 5–25. Both Adomnán and Bede derived their accounts from those of the Frankish monk Arculf.
- 8 Foley and Holder, *Bede*, p. 17.
- 9 Foley and Holder, *Bede*, p. 24.
- 10 Foley and Holder, *Bede*, p. 21.
- 11 Reginald of Durham, *Libellus de Vita et Miraculis S. Godrici, Heremitaie de Finchale*, (ed.) Joseph Stevenson (London: Surtees Society, 1847), p. 301; translation taken from Francis Rice, *The Hermit of Finchale: The Life of St Godric* (Edinburgh: Pentland Press, 1994), p. 261.

- 12 Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, trans L. Sherley-Price with an introduction by D.H. Farmer (London: Penguin, 1965), p. 296; Binski, *Becket's Crown*, pp. 3–12. For a broader history of the importance of the Jerusalem Sepulcher in the Western imagination, see Colin Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West: From the Beginning to 1600* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
- 13 Raw, *Anglo-Saxon Crucifixion Iconography*, pp. 44–6.
- 14 The round churches of England and their connections both to the military orders and to the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem have recently been explored by Laura J. Whatley, *Visualizing the Holy Land: The Visual Culture of the Crusades in England, circa 1140–1307* (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2010), pp. 14–60. On the Temple church in London, see also Robin Griffith-Jones and David Park (eds), *The Temple Church in London: History, Architecture, Art* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010). The remains of a round church built in imitation of the Holy Sepulchre may be found as far north as Orphir, Orkney, built by Earl Hakon Paulsson before his death in 1122 (Morris, "Picturing the Crusades," p. 208).
- 15 There is a further sculptural example of St. George attacking a Saracen at Damerham in Hampshire. The Hardham paintings are part of the famous "Lewes Group" of Sussex churches with related schemes of paintings by a workshop with connections to Lewes Priory. Both they and the Fordington tympanum should probably be dated to the first decade of the twelfth century (Roger Rosewell, *Medieval Wall Paintings in English and Welsh Churches* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008), p. 11; Colin Morris, "Picturing the Crusades: the Uses of Visual Propaganda, c. 1095–1250," in *The Crusades and their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, (ed.) John France and William G. Zajac (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), p. 204). On the subsequent establishment of George as England's patron saint, see Olivier de Laborderie, "Richard the Lionheart and the Birth of a National Cult of St George in England: Origins and Development of a Legend," *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 39 (1995): pp. 37–53; David A.L. Morgan, "The Banner-bearer of Christ and our Lady's Knight: How God became an Englishman revisited," in *Saint George's Chapel, Windsor, in the Fourteenth Century*, (ed.) Nigel Saul (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), pp. 51–62; and Jonathan Good, *The Cult of St George in Medieval England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2009).
- 16 Philip M. Johnstone identifies three twelfth-century examples of George and the dragon on tympana at Ruardean in Gloucestershire, Brinsop in Herefordshire, and Pitsford in Northamptonshire ("Hardham Church and Its Early Paintings," *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 44 (1901): pp. 73–115, n. 42). The identification of George in the sculptures at Ruardean and Brinsop stands, but that at Pitsford is doubtful. The *Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture in Britain and Ireland* convincingly identifies the creature as a lion rather than a dragon. Mary Curtis Webb relates this image to another at nearby Dinton and argues for a derivation of both from Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job*. Webb makes a strong case for the Pitsford sculpture showing Christ battling Behemoth (whom Gregory likens to a lion), a suggestion that also helps explain some of the tympanum's other unusual iconographical elements (Mary Curtis Webb, *Ideas and Images in Twelfth-Century Sculpture: The Transmission of Ideas and their Visual Images from the First to the Twelfth Centuries*, (ed.) Gillian Greenwood (2010), pp. 47–60).
- 17 Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, pp. 7–12; Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 24–32.
- 18 The origins of the legend of Helena as a British princess are impossible to trace but, according to Antonia Harbus, "had been in circulation in both Britain and abroad since at least the eighth century." For a thorough treatment of the legend, see Antonia Harbus, *Helena of Britain in Medieval Legend* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2002), especially, on its antiquity, pp. 28–34.
- 19 Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, (ed. and trans.) Diana L. Greenway (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 58–61; Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, (trans.) Lewis Thorpe (London: Penguin, 1966), p. 132.
- 20 Frances Arnold-Forster, *Studies in Church Dedications, or England's Patron Saints* (London: Skeffington, 1899), vol. 1, pp. 181–9 and vol. 3, pp. 365–6. Arnold-Foster lists 135 dedications, although her now-dated study should be used only as a guide.
- 21 The main studies of the cross are James T. Lang, "The St. Helena Cross, Church Kelloe, Co. Durham," *Archaeologia Aeliana* 5, no. 5 (1977): pp. 105–19 and Barbara Baert, "In hoc vinces: Iconography of the Stone Cross in the Parish Church of Kelloe (Durham ca. 1200)," in *Archaeological and Historical Aspects of West European Societies: Album Amicorum André Van Doorselaer*, (ed.) Marc Lodeqijckx (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1996), pp. 341–62. See also the entry and bibliography in George Zarnecki, Janet Holt, and Tristram Holland (eds), *English Romanesque Art* (London: The Arts Council, 1984), p. 176.
- 22 York, The Yorkshire Museum; Zarnecki, Holt, and Holland, *English Romanesque Art*, p. 166.
- 23 Lang, "The St. Helena Cross," p. 109. That the controversial figure is, in fact, Constantine; see Munns, *Cross and Culture*, chapter 7.
- 24 Stone reliquaries seem often to be related to relics from the Levant, possibly following local prototypes such as those discovered at al-Qubaiba and At Taiyiba (Denys Pringle, *The Churches of*

- the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), vol. 2, pp. 173, 344). The remarkable twelfth-century church of Saint-Jean in Aubeterre-sur-Dronne contains a vast stone reliquary built to house relics from the Holy Land. English stone reliquaries, albeit of a later date, can be found in the parish churches at Brixworth (Northamptonshire) and Sandford-on-Thames (Oxfordshire).
- 25 New York, Morgan Library and Museum, AZ001.
 - 26 Whether any one of these relates to the apparent Anglo-Saxon cross reliquary now in the Victoria or Albert Museum (7943–1862), or whether this exquisite gold filigree and enamel covered cedar wood cross, with its ivory corpus and relic chamber, is testimony to another English relic is unknown.
 - 27 Michael J. Swanton (ed. and trans.), *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 79.
 - 28 Swanton, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, p. 81; William of Malmesbury, *The Deeds of the Bishops of England*, trans. David Preest (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2002), p. 271; London, British Library, MS Cotton Galba A.XVIII, fol. 2r.
 - 29 “De lingo D[omi]ni,” Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Bodley 579, fol. 6r; Otto Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Lateinische Schriftquellen zur Kunst in England, Wales und Schottland vom Jahre 901 bis zum Jahre 1307*, 5 vols (Munich: Prestel, 1955–60), nos. 2514, 3023; Sarah Foot, *Æthelstan: The First King of England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), p. 198.
 - 30 London, British Library, MS Stowe 944, fol. 6r.
 - 31 London, British Library, MS Stowe 944, fol. 58.
 - 32 See Turgot, Bishop of St. Andrews, *The Life of St Margaret, Queen of Scotland*, (ed.) William Forbes-Leith, 3rd ed. (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1896).
 - 33 William Stubbs (ed.), *The Foundation of Waltham Abbey* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1861), p. xvi.
 - 34 London, British Library, MS Egerton 3031, fols 6v–8r; for the embassy, see London, Guildhall, MS 122, iv, fol. 16; Denis Bethell, “The Making of a Twelfth-Century Relic Collection,” in *Popular Belief and Practice*, (ed.) G.J. Cumming and Derek Baker, *Studies in Church History* 8 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), p. 69.
 - 35 London, British Library, MS Stowe 944, fol. 6; MS Add.29436, fol.46b; Nicholas du Quesne Bird, “A Medieval Inventory from Glastonbury Abbey,” *Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset* 33 (1994): pp. 318.
 - 36 Turgot, *Life of St Margaret*, pp. 66–7.
 - 37 For the fate of the Black Rood of Scotland see Herbert Maxwell (ed.), *The Chronicle of Lanercost* (Cribyn: Llanerch Press, 2001), p. 260; for the Cross of Neith, see Winifred C. Tennant, “Croes Naid,” *National Library of Wales Journal* (1951–52): pp. 102–15.
 - 38 For the Cross of Cong (National Museum of Ireland, Dublin), see Françoise Henry, *Irish Art in the Romanesque Period, 1020–1170 AD* (London: Methuen, 1970), pp. 106–10.
 - 39 London, British Museum, MLA 1946, 4–7, 1; Zarnecki, Holt, and Holland, *English Romanesque Art*, p. 310.
 - 40 For the Thorney Abbey relic see London, British Library, MS Add.40000, fol. 11v; for the Glastonbury relics see Bethell, “Making of a Twelfth-Century Relic List,” pp. 61–72; for the others listed here see Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Lateinische Schriftquellen zur Kunst*, nos. 231, 1575, 3869, 3478, 5016.
 - 41 For the Winchester relics see notes 30, 31, and 35 above. Ironically, Henry of Blois, who donated two of them, probably destroyed those donated by Cnut and Emma in his attack on Winchester in 1141.
 - 42 Laura J. Whitley, “Visual Self-Fashioning and the Seals of the Knights Hospitaller in England,” in *Remembering the Crusades: Myth, Image and Identity*, (ed.) Nicholas Paul and Suzanne Yeager (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), pp. 252–69.
 - 43 Alan V. Murray, “‘Mighty against the enemies of Christ’: The Relic of the True Cross in the Armies of the Kingdom of Jerusalem,” in *The Crusades and their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, (ed.) John France and William G. Zajak (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 232–8.
 - 44 Charles W. David (ed. and trans.), *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi (The Conquest of Lisbon)*, with a new Introduction by Jonathan Phillips (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), p. 146. With regard to the Holy Land, the crusade was a disaster, but, as will be considered in more detail below, the siege of Lisbon en route was a significant success in which the English troops and their leaders played an important part, allegedly taking their inspiration directly from a relic of the True

Cross. The chaplain in question was probably the author, who has been convincingly identified as Raol, a Frankish priest serving with the Anglo-Norman contingent; Harold Livermore, "The 'Conquest of Lisbon' and its Author," *Portuguese Studies* 6 (1990): pp. 1–16. See also, Alan Forey, "The Siege of Lisbon and the Second Crusade," *Portuguese Studies* 20 (2004): pp. 1–13; Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 32–5.

- 45 William J. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c.1095–c.1187* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2008). With regard to the Dartmouth crusaders at Lisbon, Purkis notes that the Holy Sepulcher remained the goal for most of them despite the fact that the preachers of the Second Crusade, led by Pope Eugenius III and Bernard of Clairvaux, had consciously played down ideas of pilgrimage, Jerusalem, and the *imitatio Christi*. He argues that in attempting to separate these foci from the mainstream of crusading activity, Bernard and Eugenius were "swimming hopelessly against the tide of contemporary devotion" (p. 119), a failure attributable in large part to the potency of the image of the cross. See particularly pp. 78–119.
- 46 Tyerman, "Were there any Crusades," pp. 65–72; Kenneth Pennington, "The Rite for Taking the Cross in the Twelfth Century," *Traditio* 30 (1974): pp. 429–34. Mark Markowski notes that there is no evidence for the official use of the term *crucesignatus* for "crusader" before 1199, although then he tentatively credits its introduction into the papal vocabulary to Gerald of Wales, and so the English milieu ("Crucesignatus": its origins and early usage," *Journal of Medieval History* 10 (1984): pp. 157–65, esp. 160–61).
- 47 See Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, pp. 81–2, where he dates the first explicit record of the cross, scrip and staff being received together to Brittany in 1146, and then as an exception to normal practice. The distinction is emphasized by M. Cecilia Gaposchin in an important recent article ("From Pilgrimage to Crusade: The Liturgy of Departure, 1095–1300," *Speculum* 88 (2013): pp. 44–91, at pp. 46–7), although the thrust of her article, stressing "the fluidity of individual responses, and the ad hoc nature of the rituals during the first two centuries of crusade" (p. 73) should militate against generalizations of any kind.
- 48 Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 67–75.
- 49 Henry T. Riley (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Roger de Hoveden: Comprising the History of England and of other Countries of Europe from A.D. 732 to A.D. 1201*, 2 vols (London: H. G. Bohn, 1853), vol. 2, p. 141.
- 50 Cambridge, University Library, MS Ll.2.10, fols 74r–75v; see James A. Brundage, "Cruci Signari: The Rite for Taking the Cross in England," *Traditio* 22 (1966): pp. 792–3.
- 51 Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.XI.10, fols 100r–103v; Oxford, Magdalen College, MS 226, fols 242r–v.
- 52 Brundage, "Cruci Signari," pp. 292, 793.
- 53 Reginald of Durham, *Libellus*, p. 34.
- 54 Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, pp. 209, 239; Tyerman, "Were there any Crusades," pp. 570–71.
- 55 Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, p. 63. Reginald completed most of it beforehand and was able to present the saint with a copy, strengthening the case for its essential accuracy; Reginald of Durham, *Libellus*, pp. 315–17; Helen Birkitt, *The Saints Lives of Jocelyn of Furness: Hagiography, Patronage and Ecclesiastical Politics* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2010), p. 128; Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 27.
- 56 The identification of Godric with the sea captain (or "pirate") who ferried Baldwin to safety is suggested by Graboïs, "Anglo-Norman England," p. 138; Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 27, considers it unlikely.
- 57 Reginald of Durham, *Libellus*, pp. 76–7; sometimes described as a metal breastplate, see, for example, David H. Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 5th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 227.
- 58 Reginald of Durham, *Libellus*, pp. 199–200.
- 59 Tom Licence, *Hermits and Recluses in English Society, 950–1200* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 101.
- 60 Licence, *Hermits and Recluses*, pp. 143–4.
- 61 The practice is particularly associated with the preparation for death. English examples include Earl Waltheof of Northumbria, whose assumption of a cruciform pose at his execution on the orders of William the Conqueror in 1076 is recorded by more than one source, and Brihtric, a hermit who lived near Bury St Edmunds, whose corpse was found in such a pose following the burning of his hermitage by Viking raiders. A Scandinavian version is the death of Skarpheðinn as recorded in the Icelandic *Njáls saga*, and there are records of the practice by recluses attached to St

- Gall in the tenth century (Haki Antonsson, "Insigne Crucis: A European Motif in a Nordic Setting," in *The North Sea World in the Middle Ages*, (ed.) Thomas R. Liszka and Lorna E. M. Walker (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001), pp. 15–23; Licence, *Hermits and Recluses*, pp. 69, 78–9, 124).
- 62 Other examples included Godric of Throckenholt, Wulfic of Haselbury and William of Llanthony (Licence, *Hermits and Recluses*, p. 120).
- 63 Reginald of Durham, *Libellus*, p. 301. Godric's chapel at Finchale was dedicated in the name of his patron, St John the Baptist, and of the Holy Sepulcher.
- 64 Riley, *The Annals of Roger de Hoveden*, p. 79.
- 65 Riley, *The Annals of Roger de Hoveden*, p. 98.
- 66 Another well-known example is the vision of the monk of Eynsham in 1196 (Herbert E. Salter (ed.), *The Eynsham Cartulary*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1908), vol. 2, pp. 297–9). Roger himself records another in Dublin in 1197 (Riley, *The Annals of Roger de Hoveden*, pp. 407–8).
- 67 The earliest indisputable English example of which I am aware survives only in reproduction, the original having been destroyed by fire in 1904 (Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS L.IV.25, fol. 10; see Nigel J. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts (I), 1190–1250*, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles 4 (London: Harvey Miller, 1982), no. 67). It should be dated to c. 1240. A single possible earlier example, dating from the Anglo-Saxon period, is the cross reliquary in the Victoria and Albert Museum mentioned above (note 26), but it is far from certain that what is depicted is a crown of thorns, it is more probably a representation of a form of fillet or Anglo-Saxon royal crown, as found in several eleventh-century manuscript illuminations. Paul Williamson, in his recent catalogue of the V&A ivories, simply refers to it as a "rope crown"; Paul Williamson, *Medieval Ivory Carvings: Early Christian to Romanesque* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2010), p. 239.
- 68 Gerald of Wales, *Journey through Wales and the Description of Wales*, trans. Lewis Thorpe (London: Penguin, 1978), pp. 182–3.
- 69 Giles Constable, *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2008), p. 63; Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, p. 82; see also Gaposchkin, "From Pilgrimage to Crusade," pp. 58–9.
- 70 Gerald of Wales, *Journey through Wales*, p. 186.
- 71 Constable, *Crusaders and Crusading*, pp. 67–8; Antonsson, "Insigne Crucis," pp. 19–20; Thomas Asbridge, *The First Crusade: A New History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 65–6.
- 72 A twelfth-century Italian manuscript specifies the adoption of such a pose as part of "The order for the taking up of the *signaculum* of the holy cross for those going to Jerusalem" (Universitätsbibliothek, Graz, MS 186, fol. 81r); Gaposchkin, "From Pilgrimage to Crusade," p. 57; Pennington, "The Rite for Taking the Cross," p. 433.
- 73 Gerald of Wales, *Journey through Wales*, pp. 114, 172.
- 74 Anselm of Canterbury, *Omnia Opera*, vol. 2, pp. 38–133.
- 75 Anselm of Canterbury, *Omnia Opera*, vol. 3, pp. 3–91, published in translation and with a useful introduction in Benedicta Ward (ed. and trans.), *Prayers and Meditations of St Anselm with The Proslogion* (London: Penguin, 1973). See also André Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots du moyen âge latin* (Paris: Librairie Bloud et Gay, 1932), pp. 162–201.
- 76 Anselm rejected any possibility of the devil exacting satisfaction from Christ's sacrifice on the cross, insisting that any such requirement could properly be levied only by God. His theory then proceeded to attempt to explain how it was that this must be so. Very briefly summarized, the argument is that in order for God to be absolutely just he must require reparation for sin; but in order for him to exercise absolute mercy, as well as for the reparation to be sufficient, only the sinless God himself can offer it, hence the Incarnation. Anselm reasoned that, whilst nothing could be required of God of necessity, in order to be worthy of the name, it was, in David Brown's phrase, "fitting" for God to both demand full reparation for sin and to choose to pay that ultimate debt himself; see David Brown, "Anselm on Atonement," in *The Cambridge Companion to Anselm*, (ed.) Brian Davies and Brian Leftow (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 279–302.
- 77 *Vita Bosonis*, (ed.) J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae Latina* 150 (Paris: Imprimerie Catholique, 1854), cols 725–6; Southern, *St Anselm*, pp. 202–3.
- 78 Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels*, pp. 162–201.
- 79 See, inter alia, Southern, *St Anselm*, pp. 91–112; Ward, *Prayers and Meditations*, pp. 25–86.
- 80 For a detailed study of this development, see Munns, *Cross and Culture*.
- 81 Frank Barlow, *Thomas Becket* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1986), p. 80.

- 82 The monks of Durham were aware of the problem. After his death, Godric's corpse was reported to have oozed blood, effecting a miraculous cure on a pilgrim who kissed his feet (Nicholas Vincent, *The Holy Blood: King Henry III and the Westminster Blood Relic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 44–5).
- 83 For contemporary accounts of Becket's martyrdom see James C. Robertson (ed.), *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, 7 vols (London: Longmans, 1875–85). A synthesized and annotated account can be found in Michael Staunton, *The Lives of Thomas Becket* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), pp. 192–203.
- 84 Robertson, *Materials*, vol. 2, pp. 436–38.
- 85 Robertson, *Materials*, vol. 3, p. 141; Vincent, *The Holy Blood*, p. 45. It should be noted, however, that Benedict distinguishes between the blood of Christ as *sanguis* and that of Becket as *cruor*: “solius enim agni Bethleemitici sanguis et cruor agni Cantuariensis in universe mundo hauriri legitur” (Robertson, *Materials*, vol. 2, p. 43).
- 86 Robertson, *Materials*, vol. 2, p. 436. For an extended discussion of the development of the standard iconography of Becket at the altar, see Munns, *Cross and Culture*, Chapter 7.
- 87 Two early examples of this iconography can be found in manuscripts in the British Library, namely London, British Library, MS Cotton Claudius B.II, fol. 341 (a copy of John of Salisbury's *Life of Becket*) and MS Harley 5102, fol. 32r, both c. 1180.



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A Constellation of Crusade: The Resafa Heraldry Cup and the Aspirations of Raoul I, Lord of Coucy

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Of those objects carried by Europe's elite on the earliest crusades, few survive. The chroniclers confirm the presence of relics and devotional objects, and of course we can assume all variety of military equipment, trappings, and fine clothes. As to the character of those secular luxuries brought on crusade, however, we know very little.¹ This is why a gilt-silver drinking cup, unearthed in 1982 by Thilo Ulbert of the German Archaeological Institute of Damascus, is so important (Figure 4.1).² The cup, now part of the collection of the Syria National Museum, Damascus (Inv. Nr. 29313/14), formed part

4.1 The Resafa Heraldry Cup (facsimile), original housed in the Syria National Museum, Damascus (Inv. Nr.29313/14). Bonn, Rheinisches Landesmuseum für Archäologie, Kunst-und Kulturgeschichte.



of a hoard of liturgical silver discovered in the north peristyle of the basilica of the Church of the Holy Cross at Resafa-Sergiopolis. The hoard included a chalice, a chalice foot, a paten, a lamp, and the drinking cup. It was no doubt deposited there for safekeeping sometime before 1259, the year of the great Mongol invasion that saw the destruction of the church.³ With the exception of the paten and the drinking cup, which are western in origin, the objects are all of Byzantine manufacture. An Arabic inscription, however, was added to the drinking cup's rim. It reads, "This is what Zayn al-Dār, daughter of Mister Abū Durrah, to be added to the estates of Ja'bar Castle, The Protected." Evidently, sometime before 1259, the cup had made it some 600 km north of Acre to Qal'at Jabar, and from there, either as a votive offering or for safekeeping, to Resafa.⁴

My interests lie in this object's use by its probable first owner. His identity is established by eleven heraldic shields engraved in the cup's basin (Figure 4.2). Hervé de Pinoteau, the heraldry specialist Ulbert engaged to identify the shields, associated the central arms with one of the most powerful French dynasties of the Middle Ages, the Coucy family of Picardy.⁵ Almost certainly, Pinoteau showed, the central arms refer to Radolphus I, called Raoul, Lord

4.2 The Resafa Heraldry Cup (facsimile), view of basin. Bonn, Rheinisches Landesmuseum für Archäologie, Kunst-und Kulturgeschichte.



of Coucy (ca.1135–1191/92).⁶ Along with numerous other European nobles of the late twelfth century, Raoul was present at the great siege of Acre. This is most readily confirmed by a cache of financial documents drawn up at Acre in which it is recorded that Raoul stood surety for a loan of 100 silver marks made by a Genoese merchant in May of 1191.⁷ Raoul died shortly after, probably during the occupation of Ascalon in late 1191 or early 1192.⁸ It seems that the cup then exchanged hands in Syria until it was purchased by or given to Zayn al-Dār. In his second corpus of crusader art, Jaroslav Folda described the cup as “the most important piece of secular silver we have from the Crusader Levant in the thirteenth century, and the only piece with such a rich collection of heraldic arms.”⁹ Indeed, the importance of the “Wappenpokal,” or heraldry cup, as Ulbert called it, is even greater. The configuration of the cup, its engraved shields, and the shields’ cadency point to the late twelfth century; consequently, the cup offers the earliest extant ensemble of authentic French arms in the visual arts.¹⁰ While the cup itself was probably crafted in Western Europe, new evidence discussed below suggests that its heraldic decoration was most likely undertaken or completed at the siege of Acre. Ultimately, however, my interest is to demonstrate the semantic possibilities of a circular ensemble of authentic arms and, in a related vein, the agentic powers of such a cup in the communication and sustainment of one man’s aspirations while on crusade.

Among the 11 shields, the Coucy family is most strongly represented; indeed, it was largely on account of four variations of the Coucy arms that Pinoteau was able to blazon the shields and to propose a date for the cup’s origin. Together, the four Coucy shields point with near certainty to Raoul I and three of his sons. Shortly before Raoul left on crusade, probably in the spring of 1190, he divided the Coucy barony among his three eligible children and awarded title and rights to each of them. These arrangements were recorded in a now lost *ordinatio*, or testament, of 1190, originally deposited at the abbey of Prémontré, near Coucy.¹¹ By this date, Raoul was in his fifties, and there is good reason to suppose that, like his father who had perished on the second crusade, Raoul thought it likely that he would die during the campaign. The *ordinatio* thus begins:

I Raoul, Lord of Coucy, want it to be made known to those both present and future that, when I had been girded for the journey, lest some discord arise among my children over the portion of their inheritance, I lovingly assigned my land, according to the dictates of my conscience and the counsel of my liege men.¹²

In what followed, Raoul left the barony to the future Enguerrand III, who is referenced on the cup by the arms of Coucy with a label of seven points, a sign of his status as his father’s eldest son.¹³ Next, Enguerrand’s younger brothers, Thomas and Robert, each received an apanage within the barony. This was an unprecedented division of the Coucy lands. To Thomas went the town of Vervins, and to Robert, Pinon, respectively to be held in liege and plain homage to their elder brother. Later seal impressions confirm that Thomas of Coucy-Vervins carried Coucy, a bend gold, and Robert of Coucy-

Pinon, Coucy, a quarter gold. These shields appear side by side on the cup.¹⁴ Thomas and Robert are the earliest noblemen with whom these arms are associated; the same arms would be borne by their descendants for several generations. Based on this important division of the barony and Raoul's death on crusade in 1191, Pinoteau proposed 1190–91 as the date for the heraldry cup. The cup therefore represents the earliest examples of the arms of Coucy-Vervins and Coucy-Pinon. As Pinoteau stressed, however, at this date none of Raoul's sons had reached their majority. Indeed, Thomas and Robert may have been no more than children, and Enguerrand was not yet of age to accompany his father on crusade.¹⁵ The Coucy shields in the heraldry cup thus raise interesting questions about protocol for the creation of arms at this early stage in the development of the heraldic arts, namely when and under what conditions arms were fashioned for additional male offspring entitled to an inheritance.¹⁶

The four Coucy shields are integrated among those of relatives and allies. Thus, one shield represents the Lord of Roye, whose family held lands in the Amienois not far from Coucy.¹⁷ Another refers to the family of Ham, relatives of the Coucy by mutual descent from the House of Vermandois. At the moment, these arms belonged to Eudes III of Ham, whose lands were in the near vicinity of the Coucy barony. Eudes was present at Acre by 1189, and also fought in the Fourth Crusade.¹⁸ Another close relative is signaled by the arms of a son of the Châtelain of Amiens, probably a certain Pierre, who likely participated in the Third Crusade with his father, Dreux of Amiens, and later died during the Fourth.¹⁹ Of the remaining shields, one may reference Guy of Noyelles of Ponthieu, another close neighbor of Coucy.²⁰ Surprisingly, the next two shields appear to belong to the Kyme and Ros families, both of Lincolnshire.²¹ The Ros shield was clearly engraved with a different technique than the others; the implications of this difference are discussed below. A final shield Pinoteau hesitantly associated with the Sorlieu family of the Vermandois.²²

With the exception of those few shields that might belong to English allies, to plot the cup's heraldry onto a map of twelfth-century France is to define a small cluster of northern French nobility. Any medieval viewer of the cup's heraldry would understand that the relationships alluded to in the basin were informed by this literal, geographical proximity. The spatial qualities inherent in the cup's heraldic display were further underscored by its circular configuration, a shape which calls to mind medieval *mappa mundi* and even contemporary cartographic treatments of the city of Jerusalem, the crusaders' destination.²³ The circle thus lends a cosmological significance to the landscape of Picardy and this selection of its noble inhabitants, a meaning elucidated further by that most famous site for a circular gathering of knights, the Round Table, as discussed in the early thirteenth-century *Queste del Saint Graal*. There, Perceval's mother concludes her exegesis of the table by observing that in its name we register "the roundness of the world and the arrangement of the planets and the elements in the heavens; and in the heavenly spheres we see the stars and many other things; and so one can justifiably say that *the*

whole world is signified in the Round Table.”²⁴ By virtue of its circular form and ring of “named,” noble attendees, the heraldry cup both invites these totalizing spatial metaphors and exists in tension with them: certainly the heraldic contents of the cup do not yield a full “cosmos” of French chivalry like that extrapolated from the heraldic decoration of the so-called Coffret of St. Louis now in the Louvre, an object that may have belonged to a Capetian monarch.²⁵ Rather, the heraldry cup offers a constellation of Coucy relatives and allies that, on account of its shape, aspires to a larger, celestial scope. Form and content collaborate to articulate the self-centered familial and dynastic interests of Raoul I.

When and where the heraldry cup was engraved remains a thorny issue, but new evidence may partially resolve the matter. Pinoteau speculated that Raoul brought the cup with him on crusade as a “souvenir,” or memory, of his recently completed *ordinatio*.²⁶ This would presuppose that the heraldic decoration was at least initiated in Picardy prior to Raoul’s departure, so as to include the shields of the Coucy youths. Yet as Pinoteau admitted, there is no evidence that would place the cup’s particular assemblage of nobles in Picardy coincident with the penning of the 1190 *ordinatio*. Indeed, Eudes III of Ham was already in Acre when the *ordinatio* was written. Exactly when Raoul himself departed for Acre is unknown, but he was probably among the grand company that embarked from Vézelay in June of 1190 with Philip Augustus and Richard I. Although the kings would winter in Sicily, a detachment of important nobles led by Henry of Champagne sailed directly for Acre.²⁷ Upon his arrival in August of 1190, Henry took control of the siege; Raoul, I was likely among the numerous noblemen who arrived at Acre along with or shortly after Henry of Champagne that August.²⁸ Support for this scenario emerges from a source unknown to Pinoteau, the *Gesta regis Henrici secundi* of Roger of Howden, royal clerk of Henry II. In his list of those crusaders who perished at Acre in 1190, Roger named 11 knights from Lincolnshire, among them a Walter of Kyme and a Walter of Ros.²⁹ Remarkably, these surnames agree with Pinoteau’s blazoning of shields nos. 9 and 10 in the basin of the heraldry cup. Accepting that Raoul was at Acre by late summer 1190 and that Roger of Howden’s obituary of 1190 for Walter of Kyme and Walter of Ros is accurate, we may hypothesize that the heraldry cup reflects contact in Acre between the Lord of Coucy and the Lincolnshire men sometime between August and December of 1190. While the cup may have been brought on crusade, therefore, it seems likely that all or at least a portion of its heraldic decoration—to include the Lincolnshire armorials—was undertaken at Acre in the siege camp by a metal smith proficient in the *Tremblrierstichlinien* technique used to engrave the decoration.³⁰ Therefore, although the possibility that some shields were engraved in Picardy and others were added in Acre cannot be entirely ruled out, the inclusion of the Lincolnshire knights points strongly to the siege camp at Acre as the site where the heraldic engravings were executed.

Pinoteau’s characterization of the cup as a souvenir or commemoration of the *ordinatio*, however, still has merit. The predominance of Coucy shields

suggests that, amidst the perils of the siege, Raoul's attentions remained focused on dynastic matters like those articulated in his *ordinatio*. Unlike the document deposited at Prémontré, however, the cup was less a static commemoration than the active embodiment of Raoul's desire for a secure, ideal future, a time when a mature Enguerrand, Thomas, and Robert would stand as equals in a noble company of relatives and allies. This future, of course, had not yet come to pass in 1190, but the deadly siege at Acre would have prompted Raoul to reflect further on the destiny of his family to which he might never return. Decoration of the cup, therefore, was perhaps a means to further ensure this future. We might speculate that the heraldic circle reflects a collective vow taken at Acre by the referenced nobles; whatever the precise nature of this vow, its visual representation in the cup suggests a tacit agreement to support Raoul's vision for the future of the Coucy barony. The heraldic circle may therefore be understood as a sign of those trusted persons upon whom the Lord of Coucy could rely to support his will should he not return from crusade, a group not unlike those unnamed but consenting liege men referenced in the earlier *ordinatio*. Seen from this perspective, inclusion of the Coucy sons in the cup's heraldic ensemble is a prescriptive visual strategy for ensuring an idealized future. The cup thus not only offers one of the earliest extant assemblages of authentic heraldry in any media, but on account of its particular presentation of arms, represents a further refinement of heraldry's signifying potential, a mature understanding of the system's rhetorical powers to shape reality.

At the siege of Acre, acceptance of the sort of request implicit in the heraldry cup—a promise to uphold the wishes of a fellow pilgrim should he not return home—was especially urgent, as countless crusaders of high and low social rank fell in combat or to disease. Matters of inheritance and succession were a preoccupation among the powerful at the siege and had major consequences for the overall campaign. When Philip of Alsace, Count of Flanders, died on July 1, 1191 without an heir, the French king abandoned the army and returned home in order to settle the Flemish inheritance, a decision that arguably contributed to the ultimate failure to recapture Jerusalem.³¹ Raoul, of course, had addressed the Coucy inheritance in advance, but no doubt remained concerned for the integrity of his barony. He had ample reason. The young Philip Augustus, eager to extend Capetian power, had spent the previous decade strengthening royal authority in northeastern France by fostering the rights of communes in major cities and towns. In some instances, these maneuvers enabled the king to bolster his influence in episcopal cities within the fiefs of his barons.³² It is unclear whether the king had any say in Raoul's division of the Coucy barony in 1190 or the attendant system of homage set up between the Coucy brothers. By 1209, however, Philip determined to prevent these sorts of arrangement—and effectively to weaken the aristocracy—by demanding that cadet sons pay homage directly to the crown rather than their elder brothers.³³ It is conceivable that Raoul's *ordinatio* in some sense anticipated this development. The document thus not only settled matters between the heirs of the Lord of Coucy, but asserted the

inalienability of the family's lands and attendant juridical rights in the long shadow of a Capetian king eager to consolidate further authority over his vassals. Thus, amidst the dangers of war and the political differences of rival crusader factions, the heraldry cup and its intimate constellation of kinship and social ties sustained the idealized vision of the *ordinatio*.

An account of the triumphant arrival at Acre in June 1191 of Richard I is suggestive of the sort of circumstances in which the cup might have seen use in the great siege camp:

It would have been difficult to find anybody who was not praising and rejoicing, each in their own way. Some testified to the joy of their hearts by singing popular songs, others recited "epic tales of ancient heroes' deeds," as an incitement to modern people to imitate them. Some gave the singers wine in costly cups, others passed the night in a great dance, and the mean and the great mingled together regardless of rank.³⁴

The arrival of Henry of Champagne at the siege in August 1190 was similarly a cause for rejoicing, as the army had recently suffered a major defeat and was badly in need of reinforcement. In such a jubilant atmosphere, the heraldry cup might not only consolidate ties among Raoul's particular circle of allies, but also forge new ones; could it be, for instance, that such a moment corresponded with the introduction of the Lincolnshire shields to the cup? Could such a scenario somehow account for the aberrant engraving technique of the tenth shield, emblazoned with the Ros arms? We might imagine the contents of the glittering cup shared by Raoul, Walter, Pierre of Amiens, Eudes III of Ham, and new allies, an act that would symbolically forge or reiterate ties to the Lord of Coucy and assuage a father's concerns for his family's future. Furthermore, celebratory recitations of "epic tales of ancient heroes' deeds" might prompt discussion of the heraldic ring in the cup's basin which, as we have seen, is resonant with cosmological and even romantic meanings. In this particular context, it is likely that the cup's suggestion of a circle of knights gathered around a central lord would recall the Fellowship of the Round Table. Certainly the Arthurian tradition was accessible to Raoul. Eudes III of Ham, whose arms appear between those of the young Enguerrand and Thomas in the cup's basin, was vassal to Philip of Alsace, the foremost patron of Chrétien de Troyes and dedicatee of the famed poet's final work, *Perceval ou le Conte du Graal*.³⁵ That Raoul, concerned "lest some discord be able to arise" between Enguerrand, Thomas, and Robert after his death, might address the matter in terms analogous to the Arthur legend is thus not surprising, and indeed sensible in light of his desire to avoid dissension among his sons. After all, according to Wace's *Brut* of 1155, the creation of the Round Table was occasioned by Arthur's desire to foster equality among his knights:

On account of his noble barons—each of whom felt he was superior, each considered himself the best, and no one could say who was the worst—Arthur had the Round Table made, about which the British tell many a tale. There sat the vassals, all equal, all leaders; they were placed equally round the table and

equally served. None of them could boast he sat higher than his peer; all were seated near the place of honour, none far away.³⁶

A circular gathering of knights thus signified conviviality, equality, and solidarity, virtues that the cup suggests Raoul cultivated among his kinsmen and allies at Acre and that he desired for the future of his sons.

It is worth emphasizing the suitability of a decorated drinking cup as an agent in these matters. The typology of the heraldry cup—its wide, shallow basin and squat foot—derives from the ancient Greek configuration for celebratory drinking vessels, self-referential decoration of which was fodder for discussion in the symposium.³⁷ Ulbert has adduced a number of contemporary analogies, objects recognized in medieval inventories by the term “(s)cyphus” or “hanap.”³⁸ Like their ancient forebears, such objects might speak directly to the drinker in a cautionary, moralizing tone about the dangers of gluttony. For example, on the interior rim of a twelfth-century silver cup now in the Hermitage, an object thought to have western origins, a Latin inscription reads *qui reficis ventrem, pauperis esto memor*, that is, “Who restores the belly, be mindful of the pauper,” an admonition that positions the cup as a secular object and enjoins the user to avoid the example of the gluttonous rich man of Christ’s parable, he who ignored the pleas of the poor Lazarus.³⁹ The etiquette attendant to the very use of such objects, as indicated by contemporary images, demanded a physical comportment likewise inimical to overindulgence in drink. In the famous mid-thirteenth-century Morgan Picture Bible, figures hold their wide-mouthed cups with one hand, their index fingers positioned beneath the base or inside the foot to support the weight, the whole delicately balanced by the thumb, illustrating how the actual performance of courtly drinking contributed to a kind of ritualized, formal ambient.⁴⁰ It is for such a context, I think, that the heraldry cup was intended. The imperative of the cup’s decoration, however, does not address spiritual concerns as much as an idealized social arrangement, one that the drinker internalizes and assimilates. The very act of imbibing the cup’s liquid contents (presumably wine) would be accompanied by the revelation of the heraldic circle; in drinking from the cup, Raoul, his relatives, and allies discovered this decoration and were thus encouraged to consent to the social arrangement presented in the basin.⁴¹ Here, in a manner redolent of the Eucharistic experience, the ingestion of wine collaborates with visualized ties of consanguinity and camaraderie in order to underwrite the worthiness of Raoul’s vision; this ritual sensibility is further underscored by the heraldry cup’s material, gilt silver, the liturgical associations of which grant the cup’s heraldic ensemble the same sort of pseudo-sacramentality enjoyed by the Round Table of the Vulgate Cycle, an object likewise fashioned of that precious metal.⁴²

If Raoul was indeed at Acre by the summer of 1190, he managed to survive the famine and disease that would afflict the army over the course of the winter. The exact date of his death is unknown. Francois de L’Alouëte, author of the earliest history of the Coucy barony (1577), held that Raoul died in

July 1181 at the siege of Ascalon, after which his body was returned to France and interred in the Abbey of Foigny, not far from Coucy.⁴³ The month and place of Raoul's death appear to have been known to de L'Alouète from a tomb at Foigny, a monument later destroyed during the Revolution. In the nineteenth century, the tradition that Raoul was buried at the abbey received considerable validation with the discovery, in the vicinity of the Foigny ruins, of a stone plaque inscribed with an epitaph for Raoul. According to this plaque, Raoul died in July 1192 at Ascalon. Edouard Piette, who published the plaque in 1874, reasonably suggested that it was a later replacement for the original, medieval tomb marker, and that its date referred not to the time of Raoul's death on crusade but rather to the moment of his subsequent interment at Foigny. It is likely, therefore, that Raoul perished later in the campaign, in the fall or winter of 1191–92, after having followed Richard I and the crusader army to Ascalon.⁴⁴ Raoul's possessions were likely sold off at this moment, much like those of a later crusader, Count Eudes de Nevers, who died shortly after his arrival in Acre in 1266. Numbered among Eudes's many rich belongings was "i henap d'argent à pierres et à émaus."⁴⁵ According to Folda, Eudes's cup was one of a large number of luxury goods most likely produced in Burgundy, at Nevers or Dijon, and subsequently brought with the count on crusade. This scenario would seem to parallel that of the Coucy heraldry cup which, after having been awarded to one of Raoul's surviving followers or some other, ultimately found its way to Resafa.

In summation, the heraldry cup was likely created in France but its decoration completed by a European artisan at the great siege camp outside of Acre in the fall or early winter of 1190. It therefore does not fit neatly under the rubric of an authentic "Crusader art" as put forward by Buchthal, Folda, and others; that is to say, it is not the sort of object produced by or for Latinate Christians in the Levant that displays a kind of hybrid artistic style.⁴⁶ Even so, the cup offers invaluable visual evidence as to how the crusade movement prompted important developments in the heraldic arts. The cup grants substantive insight into the prevailing interests of a noble *on* crusade and how such an object might reinforce or sustain such interests. As much as Raoul may have been concerned to recover Jerusalem, he was equally if not more intent on securing his legacy at home. Seen from this perspective, the heraldry cup resonates powerfully with the many accusatory passages in the chronicles that treat self-concerned, disinterested kings and nobles, men prepared to abandon the campaign in order to attend to personal matters elsewhere. While it seems that Raoul stayed with the crusader army until his death, we might recognize in his costly cup an embodiment of those discordant interests within the ranks of the army that ultimately contributed to the failure of the Third Crusade to reclaim Jerusalem.

In the decades that followed his death, Raoul's desires were slowly realized. The *ordinatio* of 1190 was remembered, as Dominique Barthélemy's detailed exploration of these years has shown, but full institution of the homage system Raoul desired was hampered initially by disagreements between the brothers. Thomas, in particular, was at pains to exercise the full extent of the rights

attached to his apanage; eventually he called upon Philip Augustus to mediate between himself and Enguerrand, marking the first time the king intervened directly in the family's affairs.⁴⁷ In the end, however, the brothers' differences were settled, Raoul's system realized, and the Coucy barony preserved intact for a full two centuries, as the father wished.⁴⁸ Indeed, the aspirations of the Coucy barony reached startling new heights, such that after the death of Louis VIII in 1226, Enguerrand III famously constructed the largest *donjon* in Europe at the famous Coucy-le-château and, for a brief time, opposed the regency of Blanche of Castile. It is thought that Enguerrand desired nothing less than the crown. There is little doubt that, like his father, he envisioned Coucy as the center of a heraldic cosmos.⁴⁹

Appendix: *Ordinatio* of Raoul I, Lord of Coucy, 1190*

Ego Radulphus Dominus Couciaci, Notum** fieri volo tam præsentibus quam futuris, quod cum ad iter accinctus fuisset, ne aliqua inter liberos meos super hæreditatis suæ portione oriri posset discordia, terram meam prout mihi monstravit Mentio, ad proborum etiam hominum meorum consilium diligenter assignavi. Concessi itaque Ingelrenno filio meo, quoniam prior natu existeret, omnem terram meam absque aliorum reclamacione pacifice possidendam. Exceptis portionibus, quæ aliis liberis meis fuerunt deinceps assignatæ: quæ tales sunt. Volui quod filius meus Thomas Veruinum, fontanas*** et Landousies absque omni contradictione quiete possideat: Et sexaginta libras in Wionagiis**** Veruini et Landousies, talis monetæ, qualis ad Wionagia persoluetur, habeat annuatim, et de iis omnibus erit homo ligius Ingelrenni fratris sui. Radulpho, qui clericali promissus est officio, quadraginta libras parisiensis monetæ apud Roiam annuatim capiendas, quandiu [sic] ipse vixerit, assignavi. Roberto siquidem omnia illa quæ mihi in matrimonio matris suæ collata fuerunt, diligenter assignavi, et villam meam ad sui ædificationem Pinon videlicet, cum toto censu cuiusdam nemoris, quod transitus ad Pinon vocare solemus. Quæ omnia de fratre suo Ingelrenno in planum [sic] homagium obtinebat. Si autem contigerit quod præfatus Ingelrennus absque hærede moriatur, tota ei facta assignatio ad Thomam fratrem suum deinceps reuertetur. Siendum e contrario quod quicumque ex præfatis liberis absque hærede decesserit, totam eius possessionem prior natu ex integro possidebit. Agneti vero filiæ meæ 1600. libras Atrabatensis monetæ ad redditus communes de Marla et de Creci assignavi capiendas. Quæ completis tribus annis post motionem meam insequentibus, octo annis recipiuntur, uno quoque anno in festo beati Remigii centum videlicet Marlæ, et reliquæ centum apud Creci, et ad prouentus prædictæ Agnetis faciendos Præmonstratensis commendabuntur Ecclesiæ. Si autem in hac peregrinatione me a præsentī vita migrare contigerit, si etiam præfata Agnes filia mea antequam mariterur decesserit, quicquid de assignata sibi pecunia comparens extiterit æqualiter partietur: eius medietatem mater eius Ælidis, uxor mea videlicet obtineat, Reliqua vero medietas pro mea et Agnetis anima

Hospitalariis, *Templariis*, atque Ecclesiæ Præmonstratensi, in eleemosynam conferatur, inter se æqualiter percipienda. Si autem *et* Ælidim uxorem meam sicut *et* nos mori contigerit, medietas iam dictæ pecuniæ filio meo primogenitor conferetur. Reliqua vero medietas primam ex integro retinebit assignationem. Notandum est quod totius huius diuisionis tenor, salua pariter omni possessione mea, *et* omni iure Ælidim uxoris meæ obseruato, diuiditur. Hæc enim omnia subscripta [*?recte superscripta*] quandiu [*sic*] vixero, meæ reseruo subdita voluntati. Vt autem tota diuisio hæc aliter ordinarie eam *et* commutare voluero, rata *et* indiscussa perseueret præsentī paginæ commendari, *et* sigilli mei impressione volui præmuniri. Actum anno incarnationis Dominicæ millesimo centesimo nonagesimo.

TRANSLATION

I Raoul, Lord of Coucy, want it to be made known to those both present and future that, when I had been girded for the journey, lest some discord arise among my children over the portion of their inheritance, I lovingly assigned my land, according to the dictates of my conscience and the counsel of my liege men. And so, because he was the elder by birth, I have given all my land to my son Enguerrand, to be possessed peacefully, without the objection of others, except for those portions assigned below to my other children, which are these: I wished that my son Thomas possess Vervins, Fontaine-les-Vervins, and Landouzy, peacefully, without any objection, and that he have every year sixty pounds from the *wionages* of Vervins and Landouzy, of such coin as is paid in *wionage*, and for all these things he will be a liege man of his brother Enguerrand.

I have assigned to Raoul, who has been promised to clerical office, forty pounds of the money of Paris, to be taken annually at Roye as long as he shall live. To Robert I have lovingly assigned all those things that came to me with the marriage of his mother, and my vill for the building of his Pinon,**** with all the rent of a certain forest that we are accustomed to call “the passage to Pinon,” of all of which he was possessed in full homage from his brother Enguerrand. If, however, it should happen that the aforementioned Enguerrand die without an heir, everything assigned to him [*i.e.*, Robert] will then revert to Thomas his brother. If, on the other hand, any of the aforementioned children should die without an heir, the elder by birth [*?i.e.*, Enguerrand] will possess fully his whole portion. To my daughter Agnes I have assigned 1,600 pounds of the money of Arras to be taken from the rents of Marle and Crécy; which rents, after three years have passed from the time of my departure, will be received for eight years, that is to say, one hundred pounds annually on the feast of the blessed Rémi at Marle and the remaining hundred at Crécy, and until the arrival of the said Agnes, let the monies be entrusted to the church of Premontre. If, moreover, on this pilgrimage, it should happen that I depart from this present life, and if the said Agnes, my daughter, should also die before she is married, whatever money is assigned to her is to be divided in equal portions: her mother, namely my wife Alice, is

to have half, and the remaining half is to be granted as alms, for my soul and that of Agnes, to be divided equally among the Hospitallers and the Templars and the church of Premontre. If, however, it should happen that my wife Alice should die as well as we, half of the said money [*assigned to Agnes*] shall be granted to my firstborn son, while the remaining half will retain fully its original assignment [*i.e., equal division among the three orders*]. Be it noted that the character of this whole partition is [*that is*] to be divided, saving equally my complete ownership, and every right of Alice, my wife. All these things written below [*?recte above*], I reserve as subject to my will, as long as I shall live. However, in order to guarantee that this whole allocation may stand intact, sanctioned and undisputed, unless I should wish to change it, I have desired that the impression of my seal be applied to the present page. Done in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1190.

TRANSLATION NOTES

- * The Latin text is taken from Francois de L'Alouëte, *Traité des nobles*, pp. 121–3. I am grateful to Martha Carlin for her generous help with this translation.
- ** Italicized letters in bold represent expansions of the abbreviations that appear in de L'Alouëte's transcription.
- *** Fontaine-les-Vervins, a village to the north of Vervins.
- **** The Old French term *guionage* or *wionage* represents the safe-conduct fee that landholders could impose on merchants traversing their territory. It was a term common to the Laonnois and the Vermandois in the twelfth century. See Barthélemy, *Les deux âges*, pp. 377–87.
- ***** The precise meaning of the Latin is unclear; perhaps Raoul anticipated that Robert would construct new lodgings at Pinon in the future.

Notes

- 1 Perhaps the best evidence for the possessions of a wealthy crusader in the Levant is supplied by the testament of Eudes of Nevers, who died in 1266 at Acre. See M. Chazaud, "Inventaire et comptes de la succession d'Eudes, Comte de Nevers (Acre 1266)," *Mémoires de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France* 32 (1871): pp. 164–206; also Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, From the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 356–9. I am grateful to Lisa Mahoney for reference to this testament.
- 2 The cup measures 8.5 x 16.3 cm. For a full description of the excavation and scientific analysis of the cup and the other objects, see Thilo Ulbert et al. (eds), *Resafa III. Der kreuzfahrerzeitliche Silberschatz aus Resafa-Sergiopolis* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1990), pp. 1–64, esp. 50–61; Ulbert summarizes his findings in Hans-Jürgen Kotzur et al. (eds), *Die Kreuzzüge: kein Krieg ist heilig* (Mainz: von Zabern, 2004), pp. 497–500 (cat. no. 135.1). See also Folda, *Crusader Art*, pp. 88–90. Sophie Makariou has indicated that the heraldry cup might have initially served as a wash basin, but the cup is smaller than many of the medieval objects made for this purpose; see *L'orient de Saladin: l'art des Ayyoubides* (Paris, Institut du monde arabe: Gallimard, 2001), p. 107 (cat. 85).
- 3 Ulbert, *Resafa*, p. 60. A splendid facsimile of the entire hoard made in 1986–87 is now held at the Rheinische Landesmuseum in Bonn. I am grateful to Dr. Elke Nieveler, curator at the museum, for her kind assistance in examining the facsimile objects.
- 4 I am grateful to Glenn Peers for this translation, the implications of which he discusses in a forthcoming article. See also Rainer Degen, "Die Inschriften," in *Resafa III. Der kreuzfahrerzeitliche*

Silberschatz aus Resafa-Sergiupolis, ed. Thilo Ulbert et al. (Mainz am Rhein: Phillip von Zabern, 1990), pp. 65–76, here at 74–6.

- 5 See Hervé de Pinoteau, “Heraldische Untersuchungen zum Wappenpokal,” in *Resafa III. Der kreuzfahrerzeitliche Silberschatz aus Resafa-Sergiupolis*, (ed.) Thilo Ulbert et al. (Mainz am Rhein: Phillip von Zabern, 1990), pp. 77–86. I am most grateful to the Baron Pinoteau for his generous comments on an earlier draft of this essay. On the Coucy family see the authoritative work by Dominique Barthélemy, *Les deux âges de la seigneurie banale Coucy (XI^e–XIII^e siècle)* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1984).
- 6 Pinoteau, “Heraldische,” pp. 83–6. Following Pinoteau’s numbering, shield no.1. Numbering begins with the central shield, continues with the shield immediately below, and then proceeds sequentially in a clockwise fashion. It is worth noting that Pinoteau did not entirely dismiss the possibility that the central arms represented Robert of Boves. The Boves were a cadet branch of the Coucy family and carried the Coucy arms “barry of six vair and gules” or variations of this scheme until the early thirteenth-century (“Heraldische,” p. 82 and n. 51). In July 1190, a Robert of Boves, an uncle of Raoul I of Coucy, was listed among those who had died at the siege of Acre by Roger of Howden. See William Stubbs (ed.), *Gesta regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti abbatis* (London: Longman, 1867), 2:149. Any argument in favor of a connection to the Boves in the heraldry cup, however, has to contend with the evidence of additional shields engraved in the basin that display variations of the Coucy arms known to have been carried by the sons of Raoul of Coucy after his death, as discussed below. I intend to further explore the possibility of a connection to the Boves family in a book on the Coucy family and the visual arts.
- 7 Folda, *Crusader Art*, p. 45.
- 8 See Gislebertus of Mons, *The Chronicle of Hainaut*, trans. Laura Napran (The Boydell Press, Woodbridge: 2005): 150. Gislebertus reports that Raoul of Coucy was among “the most powerful princes and other noble and vigorous knights” who perished “in the region of Jerusalem.” As to the precise date of his death Gislebertus is unclear, but see below.
- 9 Folda, *Crusader Art*, p. 88.
- 10 Pinoteau, “Heraldische,” p. 83. Heraldists use the term “cadency” to describe distinctions or “differences” between the arms of members of the same kin group (the analogous French term is “brisure”). In the heraldry cup, the appearance of the seven-point “label” (a horizontal band from which descend a number of points, in this case seven), is a strong indication that the heraldry cup belongs to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. The seven-point label seems to have fallen out of favor later in the thirteenth century.
- 11 Ibid., p. 83. The original document, in Latin, is lost. It is known through the transcription of Francois de L’Alouète, *Traité des nobles et des vertus dont ils sont formés: levir charge, vocation, rang & degré: des marques, genealogies & diuerses especes d’iceus: de l’origine des fiefs & des armoiries* (Paris: R. Le Manier, 1577), pp. 121–3.
- 12 For the full text of the *ordinatio* and a translation, see the appendix at the end of this chapter. For an alternative translation and brief commentary, see Corliss Konwiser Slack and Hugh Bernard Feiss (trans.), *Crusade Charters 1138–1270* (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2001), pp. 116–21.
- 13 Pinoteau, “Heraldische,” pp. 79–80. Following Pinoteau, shield no. 3. Concerning the differencing of the Coucy shields, it is important to note that systematic rules for French cadency did not emerge until the fourteenth century. In this early period the presence of a label did not invariably signify an eldest son. Nonetheless, at least one pre-1200 example of such use of the label lends support to Pinoteau’s interpretation of its use in the heraldry cup: impressions of the seals of Richard de Vernon and his son of the same name (who also participated in the Third Crusade), appended to an 1195 document, show that the latter’s arms were differenced by a label of 13 points. See Michel Pastoureau, *Traité d’heraldique*, 5th ed. (Paris: Picard, 2008), pp. 178–9, Figure 223, and Louis Douët-d’Arco, *Collection de sceaux*, vol. 2 (Paris: H. Plon, 1867), nos. 3862 and 3863. For discussions of the origins of systematized heraldry, see Pastoureau, “La diffusion des armoiries et les débuts de l’heraldique,” in *La France de Philippe Auguste: le temps des mutations*, (ed.) Robert Henri Bautier (Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1982), pp. 737–62; also David Crouch, *The Image of Aristocracy in Britain, 1000–1300* (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 220–40. My thanks to David Crouch for sharing his thoughts on cadency.
- 14 Pinoteau, “Heraldische,” pp. 79–80, shields nos. 5 and 6. The fact that the shield of the eldest son is separated from the younger two is odd, but may represent the engraver’s attempt to further distinguish the importance of the future Enguerrand III relative to his brothers. Apart from the prominent, central placement of the Coucy arms, there is no immediately discernible logic to the order of the shields. Ultimately, their positions may have been left up to the engraver.
- 15 Ibid., pp. 84–5. Indeed, Alice, the mother of Raoul’s children, would act in the interests of her sons for several years after his death in a fashion that anticipated the regency of Blanche of Castile; see Barthélemy, *Les deux âges*, pp. 411–13; Slack, *Crusade Charters*, p. 121 and n. 4.

- 16 Here it must be acknowledged that Pinoteau's dating of the heraldry cup has been challenged by Bernd Ulrich Hucker, who would prefer a date in first decade of the thirteenth century in order to situate the object in the milieu of the 1204 marriage of Enguerrand III to the sister of the German Emperor Otto IV. This argument includes only a perfunctory discussion of the work of Ulbert and Pinoteau. The author's chief claim, that the shape of the shields in the basin is not found in France until the thirteenth century, is contradicted by Raoul's counterseal impression of 1190 (discussed by Pinoteau) and by remarks concerning the shape of the cup's shields offered by the authority (Neubecker) upon whose work Hucker relied to make his case. See Bernd Ulrich Hucker et al. (eds), *Otto IV: Traum vom welfischen Kaisertum* (Petersberg: Imhof, 2009), esp. at pp. 224 and 366–7 (cat. no. 53). Also Ulbert, *Resafa*, p. 60, n. 256 and plate 61a.
- 17 Pinoteau, "Heraldische," p. 81, shield no. 2. In Raoul's *ordinatio*, revenues from the lands of Roye are awarded to a fourth Coucy son, named Raoul, who was promised to clerical orders and who probably did not carry arms as a result. See appendix.
- 18 Ibid., pp. 80–81, 85–6, shield no. 4. Noting the peculiar insertion of the Ham arms between those of Enguerrand III and Thomas of Coucy-Vervins, Pinoteau pondered whether Eudes III, along with Raoul, could have conferred knighthood upon the young Enguerrand coincident with the creation of the 1190 *ordinatio*, and as a consequence received this special place between the sons in the heraldic circle. Unfortunately there is no evidence to support such a scenario, and as Pinoteau admitted, Eudes was already at Acre by 1189.
- 19 Ibid., pp. 81–2, shield no. 7.
- 20 Ibid., p. 82, shield no. 8.
- 21 Ibid., p. 82, shields nos. 9 and 10.
- 22 Ibid., p. 82, shield no. 11.
- 23 The literature on such maps is vast. See the recent summary remarks by Daniel K. Connolly, *The Maps of Matthew Paris: Medieval Journeys Through Space, Time, and Literature* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2009), pp. 23–4, n. 50–53, with bibliography. On cosmological meanings of the circle in the Middle Ages, see Naomi Reed Kline, *Maps of Medieval Thought: The Hereford Paradigm* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2001), esp. Part I, "The Circle as a Conceptual Device," pp. 7–48.
- 24 The above translation is supplied by Lisa H. Cooper in her article "Bed, Boat, and Beyond: Fictional Furnishing in *La Queste del Saint Graal*," *Arthuriana* 15, no. 3 (2005): pp. 26–50, at 31. My emphasis. The relevant text is "Après cele table fu la Table Reonde par le conseil Merlin, qui ne fu pas estable sanz grant senefiance. Car en ce qu'ele est apelee Table Reonde est entendue la reondece del monde et la circonstance des planetes et des elemenz el firmament; et es circonstance dou firmament voit len les estoiles et mainte autre chose; dont len puet dire que en la Table Reonde est li mondes senefiez a droit" (ll. 25–30, from *La Queste del Saint Graal*, (ed.) Albert Pauphilet (Paris: Champion, 1984), p. 76). I have found Cooper's discussion of the agentic powers of the Round Table particularly useful to an evaluation of the geographical and cosmological implications of the Coucy heraldry cup. I am grateful to J. Allan Mitchell for the reference to Cooper's work.
- 25 For the coffret (Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Objets d'art (MS 253)), see *Enamels of Limoges*, 360–63, (cat. 123). Twenty-three different enamel armorials are affixed to the coffret, which has been dated to ca. 1234–37; the armorials are thought to reference relatives of Louis IX and members of his court. It is worth noting that the arms of Coucy appear on the coffret; here, they probably allude to the mature Enguerrand III and register his status as vassal to Louis IX after Enguerrand was reconciled to the king and his mother.
- 26 Pinoteau, "Heraldische," p. 83: "Hat Raoul I., als er sich aufmachte, um an einem Kreuzzug teilzunehmen, den Pokal als Erinnerungstück an die Seinen mitgenommen?" My emphasis.
- 27 See Peter W. Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade: Sources in Translation* (Brookfield: Scolar Press, 1996), p. 94, n. 159. For a description of the arrival of the advance contingent, see *Chronicle of the Crusade: A Translation of the Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, trans. Helen J. Nicholson, *Crusade Texts in Translation* 3 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), pp. 97–9.
- 28 *Chronicle of the Crusade*, p. 76, n. 134; p. 97, n. 186.
- 29 Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 2:149. For a discussion of the Lincolnshire contingent see Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades: 1095–1588* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), p. 72.
- 30 It is conceivable that a series of repairs made to the heraldry cup, discussed by Ulbert, also took place around this time, perhaps as a result of damage sustained en route to Acre. Evidently, a gradual weakening of the metal at the conjunction of the stem and the basin necessitated these repairs. Coincident with this intervention may have been the replacement of the centermost portion of the basin, where stem and basin join, and where the Coucy arms now appear (the silver content of this portion differs from the remainder of the cup). As such, as Ulbert observes, it is not entirely certain that the Coucy arms originally featured in the basin's center. Given the stylistically

consistent heraldic references to the young Enguerrand III, Thomas, and Robert, however, it seems logical that the cup's decoration always included an illustration of Raoul's arms at its center. See Ulbert, *Resafa*, pp. 60–61.

- 31 Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem*, pp. 108, 110; *Chronicle of the Crusade*, p. 223, n. 76.
- 32 John W. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus: Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), pp. 61, 64.
- 33 Barthélemy, *Les deux âges*, p. 405; Baldwin, *Government*, pp. 262–3.
- 34 “Nec enim de facili inveniretur qui modo suo cessaret a laudibus et gaudio; aut enim cordis testantes laetitiam resonant populares cantiones, ‘Aut antiquorum praeclare gesta priorum,’ exempla recitabantur incitamenta modernorum. Hi cantantibus vina propinant in vasis pretiosis, alii quibuslibet indifferenter accipientibus, pusillis cum majoribus, summo cum tripudio noctis transiebant instantiam.” The translation is Nicholson’s, as given in *Chronicle of Crusade*, p. 202, n. 5, following *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*, (ed.) William Stubbs, *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I*, vol. 1 (London: Longman, 1864), p. 212.
- 35 Given that the heraldry cup represents a symbolic promotion of the Coucy youths to knighthood, it is worth noting that the festivities that accompanied the ceremonial promotion to knighthood were sometimes an occasion for recitation of Arthurian tales. As John Fleming observed, we “find Arthurian and other literary inspiration behind a wide range of chivalric entertainments . . . Jean I of Beirut, [for example,] on the occasion of the dubbing of his two sons in Cyprus in 1223, threw a grand fete, notable for its lavishness, the sumptuous dispensation of gifts, and the reenactment of Arthur’s adventures.” See Fleming’s “The Round Table in Literature and Legend,” in *King Arthur’s Round Table: An Archaeological Investigation*, ed. Martin Biddle (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000), pp. 5–30, here at 11, citing Philippe de Novare.
- 36 “Pur les nobles baruns qu’il out, Dunt chescuns mielde ester quidout, Chescuns se teneit al meillur, Ne nuls n’en saveit le peiur, Fist Artur la Rund Table, Dunt Bretun dient mainte fable. Illuec seieent li vassal / Tuit chealment e tuit egal; A la table egalment seieent / E egalment servi esteient; Nul d’els ne se poeit vanter / Qu’il seist plus halt de sun per, Tuit esteient assis meain, Ne n’i aveit nul de forain” (ll. 9747–9760, text and translation adapted from *Wace’s Roman de Brut A History of the British*, ed. and trans. Judith Weiss (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999), pp. 244–6).
- 37 Formalized discussions of luxury secular table furnishings have ancient roots. In the Byzantine world, Ruth Leader has suggested, they were informed by the Greek classical model of *paideia*, a term which carries the broad meaning of culture and education, but in particular entailed fixed modes of rhetoric and oratory. Similarly, Peter Brown has shown how the *paideia* model characterized late antique discourse where political differences and a concern for agreement and unity were at stake. I do not mean to suggest that an identical formalized rhetoric characterized discussion of the heraldry cup, only to note that there is sufficient medieval precedent for a kind of ritualized discourse attached to such objects, a discourse that often involved the pursuit of social consensus. See Ruth E. Leader, “The David Plates Revisited: Transforming the Secular in Early Byzantium,” *Art Bulletin* 82, no. 3 (2000): pp. 407–27, here at 421–4, and 427, n. 75, citing Peter Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity: Towards a Christian Empire* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), pp. 35–41.
- 38 Ulbert, *Resafa*, pp. 55–9, esp. 55, n. 222.
- 39 My translation. See Ulbert, *Resafa*, pp. 55–6, n. 225. The cup in question is in St. Petersburg, Hermitage, Inv. Nr. F.3018. For the parable, see Luke 16:19–31.
- 40 New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 638. Good examples of feast scenes that include similarly configured drinking cups in use at table appear on folios 6v (Joseph feasts his brothers) and 37v (David celebrates the return of Michal).
- 41 As suggested by Ulbert, the relatively thick layering of gold in the cup’s basin was probably a preventive measure against acidic erosion caused by wine; see *Resafa*, p. 55.
- 42 For a summary discussion of the pseudo-sacramentality of the Round Table see Fleming, “The Round Table,” pp. 15–21. For an insightful discussion of the significance of the Round Table’s material qualities in the early thirteenth-century Vulgate Cycle, see Cooper, “Bed, Boat, and Beyond.”
- 43 See *Traite des nobles*, pp. 121, 124; later histories tend to repeat this claim or simply to place Raoul’s death at the siege of Acre. For example, André Du Chesne held that Raoul died at Acre in 1191, in consequence of which Enguerrand III was made Lord of Coucy in the following year; see *Histoire généalogique des maisons de Guines, d’Arâres, de Gand, et de Coucy*, vol. 1 (Paris: Sebastien Cramoisy, 1631), pp. 214, 219.
- 44 See M. Edouard Piette, “Recherches sur la pierre funéraire de Raoul I^{er} Seigneur de Coucy, Marle, Vervins,” *La Thiérache: bulletin de la Société archéologique de Vervins* 2 (1874): pp. 7–14. Also, Barthélemy, *Les deux âges*, p. 105.

- 45 “1 silver drinking cup [decorated with] stones and enamel.” See Folda, *Crusader Art*, pp. 357–8.
- 46 For discussions of artworks produced under a crusader ambient see the chapters by Gil Fishhof and Lisa Mahoney in this volume. As Mahoney suggests, icon painters in particular cultivated such a polyglot style for ideological and devotional ends.
- 47 Barthélemy, *Les deux âges*, pp. 410–11.
- 48 *Ibid.*, pp. 411–13.
- 49 Raoul’s exploits on crusade eventually fell into legend, as attested by the late thirteenth-century *Roman du Châtelain de Coucy*, a tale inspired by songs of the famed trouvère, Guy IV, Châtelain de Coucy, a contemporary of Raoul I and Enguerrand III who died on the Fourth Crusade. As several authors have observed, the romance appears to conflate aspects of the life of Raoul with that of Guy. The châtelain of the romance follows Richard I on the Third Crusade; upon his death, his heart is returned home, with tragic results. For a discussion of the romance see the introduction to *Le Roman du Châtelain de Coucy et de la Dame de Fayel*, (ed. and trans.) Catherine Gaullier-Bougassas, Champion Classiques, Série Moyen Âge 26 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2009).

Pictorial and Sculptural Commemoration of Returning or Departing Crusaders

Nurith Kenaan-Kedar

Returning crusaders have been discussed mainly by Jonathan Riley-Smith who has shown that the knights who came back from the crusades to various regions of France were received in festive processions and that they bestowed donations upon the monasteries in their ancestral lands in addition to their routine donations to the church.¹

This chapter is an attempt to identify and bring together pictorial and sculptural commemorations of returning or departing crusaders in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, aside from the well-known architectural ones, such as the mausoleum of Bohemund at Canosa di Puglia² or the Sainte-Chapelle of King Louis IX of France.³ Art historical research dealing with crusader imagery in Romanesque murals and sculpture has displayed a preoccupation with either metaphorical representations of the crusades or images of crusaders mainly engaged in battle. These studies interpret the images as reflecting the crusading phenomenon but not specifically in terms of returning or departing crusaders.

I contend that monumental commemorations of returning or departing crusaders were rare yet extant in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In this chapter I will examine some of these individual images of crusaders as a first step toward more comprehensive analysis of such commemorations. Thus, my focus is on the following case-studies:

1. The twelfth-century mural cycle in the upper chapel of the northern transept of the Church of St-Chef.⁴
2. The twelfth-century mural cycle in the crypt of the Church of St. Nicholas in Tavant.⁵
3. The twelfth-century sepulchral monument of Hugues de Vaudémont.⁶
4. The thirteenth-century sepulchral monument (destroyed, but preserved in detailed drawings) of Count Thibaut III of Champagne.⁷
5. The sculptural program of the church façade of Mailly-le-Château donated by Mahaut de Courtenay, countess of Auxerre, Tonnerre,

and Nevers, and daughter of Pierre de Courtenay, Latin emperor of Constantinople.⁸

6. The thirteenth-century mosaic pavement panels from the Church of San Giovanni Evangelista in Ravenna.⁹

The Upper Chapel of St-Chef

In the northern upper chapel of the transept of the Church of St-Chef in Dauphiné, dated on stylistic grounds to the end of the eleventh century or the first half of the twelfth,¹⁰ are painted two knights dressed in white costumes and hoods who are standing frontally, gazing toward the apse, with one of them holding a scroll (Figure 5.1). This pair, standing amidst the elect but unlike them unadorned by haloes, is situated just below the depiction of Heavenly Jerusalem on the ceiling above them.¹¹ Since various contemporary texts describe the crusaders as knights dressed in white tunics that symbolize their membership in a heavenly army,¹² and since these knights look toward the image of St. George, the major patron saint of the crusaders, we may regard them as crusaders. They are not engaging in battle but waiting to be received in the heavenly city. What is the place of these two knights in the general

5.1 Two crusaders, mural cycle, upper chapel, Church of St-Chef, Dauphiné, France, late eleventh or early twelfth century. Courtesy of Nurith Keenan-Kedar.



program of this upper chapel and what may one deduce from it about their significance and meanings? These questions will be answered by pointing to the role and function of upper chapels and their pictorial programs.

The tradition of honoring archangels in high places goes back to Monte Gargano, where it was related that Archangel Michael appeared and requested the establishment of his cult.¹³ North of the Alps the cult of the archangels was situated in high places and had already spread by the early Middle Ages. So it was in Normandy with Mont St. Michel in 709,¹⁴ while in Le Puy the Chapel of St. Michel d'Aiguilhe was founded on top of the volcanic rock in 962.¹⁵ This tradition continued in Romanesque churches, and thus in the church of Cluny III

there was an altar dedicated to St. Gabriel. Hence high chapels in various churches, above the narthex or in the eastern part of the church above the eastern transept, were also the location from which the choirs sang *chorus angelorum*¹⁶ during the liturgy.

Valléry-Radot,¹⁷ as well as Reinhardt and Fels,¹⁸ have convincingly demonstrated the impact of the twelfth-century cult of angels in high chapels on the iconography of sculptural and painted cycles in their vicinity, which was often dedicated to apocalyptic themes and to the angels connected to said themes. Thus the chapel of St-Chef was understood, on the basis of the dedicatory inscription, to be a chapel of the *chorus angelorum*. The placement of the two knights in this high chapel indicates that they will gain Heavenly Jerusalem just like the saints among whom they are standing.

The mural program, maintaining the pictorial tradition of depicting scenes from the apocalypse in high chapels devoted to angels, dedicated the apse—by inscription and images—to Jesus Christ, the three archangels, and St. George the Martyr, whose head was carved in stucco.¹⁹ Furthermore, the ceiling's vault was dedicated to a central image in the mandorla of Christ showing his wounds accompanied by the Virgin, angels at his feet, and choirs of angels and seraphim to both his sides and above his head. In the western part of the ceiling is a central image of the Heavenly Jerusalem.²⁰ Reflecting the apocalyptic description of the heavenly city in the Book of Revelation 21:9–27, it is depicted in the form of a walled city having two side towers with a guardian angel on each of them, while heads of the blessed peep out of its round windows. A large tower is installed in the middle of the city, crowned by an image of the lamb according to its description in Revelation 21:23.

The western wall presents a large frontal group of the elect waiting to be received in the heavenly city above, composed of saints and martyrs, all with haloes. In their center, just below the middle of Heavenly Jerusalem, are two crusader knights—as noted, the only two figures in the chapel without haloes—dressed in white and standing frontally. However, an important addition to this group is the image of their presumed patron saint, George, which appears twice: once facing them, in the apse wall next to the archangels, and again above them, on the western part of the vault near the image of Heavenly Jerusalem.

There appears to be a strong visual connection between the two knights and the apse with St. George, as well as between the image of St. George on the ceiling and these figures. The location and the mode of depiction of the two crusader knights, as well as the repeated representations of the figure of St. George, their saintly patron, may point to their role as patrons of the chapel. Moreover, the apse is outstanding in three factors: the unusual dedicatory inscription, the stucco head of St. George, and the mosaic pavement of the altar. These bestow upon the chapel a meaning most plausibly connected to the patrons. Thus, taken with their connection to St. George and their patronage of the chapel, the crusader knights can be interpreted as praying for their reward: the Heavenly Jerusalem. The visual culture of the time therefore leads the observer to understand the role of the patrons, yet they are integrated

in a complete program of the heavenly city which is itself part of the visual tradition of *chorus angelorum* chapels.

The Mural Cycle in the Crypt of St. Nicolas in Tavant²¹

The murals in the crypt of the Church of St. Nicolas in Tavant have often been studied and discussed. Yet there is no consensus among scholars as to the meanings of the painted cycle.²² More than once this much debated cycle has been characterized as one in which the images do not relate to each other.²³ According to Lelong,²⁴ Hélène Tourbet,²⁵ and some other scholars, the cycle develops as follows. It is spread over the vault of the main aisle of the crypt. The first two images present two seated figures holding a branch in their hands, a form that can be associated with the depiction of the tree of Jesse in the chapel of Liget.²⁶ The cycle continues with three major groups of individual biblical images: scenes from the life of King David; Adam and Eve; and, in the eastern parts, multi-figured scenes of the Deposition, Crucifixion, and the descent into Limbo.²⁷ These images are interspersed with figures of atlantes, angels, and pilgrims on their journey.

Scholars have paid very little attention to a most outstanding image in the crypt painted all by itself on the west entrance wall, with two small birds at its side. This is an isolated and prominent image of a pilgrim with a large pilgrim's cap, a long white beard, and a short coat (Figure 5.2). He is holding a palm branch in his left hand, signifying he is a so-called Palmer, a pilgrim returning from Jerusalem. Furthermore, he is holding a pilgrim's staff in his right hand and carrying a pilgrim's bag. In the twelfth century the concepts of crusade and pilgrimage were still largely overlapping and it stands to reason that in real life, too, a crusader would don a pilgrim's habit most of the time.²⁸ As this remarkably isolated personage is facing the mural cycle—as the knights in St-Chef are looking intently at St. George—he well may be the edifice's patron.

I contend that no matter what the meaning of the iconographic program, this image of the pilgrim, depicted by himself on the west wall with no other figure close to him, is an image of a crusader or a pilgrim who returned home bearing a palm branch in his hand. If in St-Chef the images of the crusader knights are looking toward their patron saint, this figure is facing and contemplating his spiritual and physical journey to Jerusalem. Thus the pilgrimage featured in this cycle combines conceptual and concrete perceptions of the pilgrim-crusader's journey to Jerusalem, where the Crucifixion and Deposition took place.

The Twelfth-Century Sculpted Group "Le retour du Croisé"

This celebrated group of the embracing couple, now in the Musée Historique Lorrain in Nancy, has been referred to numerous times by various scholars



5.2 Pilgrim, mural cycle, crypt, Church of St. Nicholas, Tavant, France, twelfth century. Courtesy of Zodiaque.

as an image representing a returning crusader.²⁹ As the group originated in the monastery of Belval which was under the patronage of the counts of Vaudémont, it was assumed by various scholars that this was a monument to Count Hugues of Vaudémont established by his wife, Aigeline of Bourgogne, after his death in 1155, since he had spent several years in the Holy Land and died shortly after his return.³⁰



5.3 Plaster cast of the *Retour du Croisé*, Belval Chapel, late twelfth-century original now at the Musée Historique Lorrain, Nancy, France. Courtesy of B.Z. Kedar.

This sculpted group is a rare, perhaps unique, medieval depiction of an embracing couple.³¹ The man, probably Hugues of Vaudémont, who can easily be compared to the Tavant pilgrim's image, is featured frontally with long hair done in braids, a beard, a pilgrim's cap, worn-out shoes, and rags bound around his legs. He is holding a pilgrim's staff and wearing a pilgrim's bag, while the cross on his chest marks him as a returning crusader (Figure 5.3). The woman, probably Aigeline of Bourgogne, is smaller than her husband and is fully covered by her habit, from which a braid comes down. She is not seen in full frontal position, but places her left hand on his chest, as if presenting him to the observer.

The emotions displayed by the countess of Vaudémont toward her husband in this sculpture were expressed in words in the sepulchral monument of Thibaut III by his widow, Blanche of Navarre, Countess of Champagne.

The Sepulchral Monument of Count Thibaut III of Champagne (1179–1201)

The dynastic tomb which Blanche of Navarre, countess of Champagne, erected for her husband Thibaut III, who was designated to lead the Fourth Crusade but died in 1201 shortly before its departure, was destroyed in the French Revolution. However, its memory is preserved by copies of the inscriptions on the monument and drawings of the sculptures.³² According to these sources, the tomb was installed in the palatine Church of St. Etienne in Troyes, which was connected to the now partly destroyed palace of the counts of Champagne in Troyes.³³ In contrast to the twelfth-century monuments, this sepulchral monument was a political statement.

Thibaut's image was sculpted supine on the lid of the tomb, represented as a pilgrim carrying a satchel marked by a cross and a crusader's cross, while both hands hold a pilgrim's staff. This image reflected the perception of the crusader as a pilgrim, a familiar part of the visual tradition since the twelfth century.

The inscriptions running around this sepulchral monument were extensive; I shall quote two sections.³⁴ The first reads: "Intent upon making amends for the injuries of the Cross and the land of the Crucified, He paved a way with expenses, an army, a fleet. Seeking the terrestrial city, he finds the one celestial; while he is obtaining his goal far away, he finds it at home." The second section reads: "God ordained that I die in this city like my father, while planning to fulfill the pious vow to enter Judea, a vow to God that my image illustrates." The monument was surrounded by figures of members of the royal family of the counts of Champagne.³⁵

All the figures were also accompanied by inscriptions. The inscription above Blanche of Navarre, who commissioned the tomb, reads: "With this tomb, Blanche, descendant of the Kings of Navarre, reveals her burning love while covering the Count." Blanche's statue, holding a model of the tomb in her hand, faced that of Count Henry I "the Liberal" holding a model of the church in his.³⁶

The Sculpted Images of Mahaut de Courtenay (1188–1257), a Returned Crusader, and her Serfs³⁷

Mahaut de Courtenay, daughter of Pierre de Courtenay who was elected as the Latin emperor of Constantinople,³⁸ ruled for 65 years (1192–1257) as the Countess of Nevers, Auxerre, and Tonnerre. Her signature appears on most of the official charters during this period. She was married in 1199 to Hervé de Donzy and accompanied him in 1218 on the Fifth Crusade to Egypt and Damietta, from where they returned in 1219 through Genoa, as they had to go back to their domains upon the death of Pierre de Courtenay in that same year. Hervé de Donzy died in 1222, and during the next three years Mahaut ruled by herself. Ultimately she outlived her two husbands as well as her daughter, son-in-law, and two grandchildren.³⁹ In her lifetime she on several occasions bestowed franchises and privileges on her burghers and serfs and founded numerous churches and monasteries.

In a monumental sculptural program on the west façade of the Church of St-Adrien in Mailly-le-Château—an old property of Mahaut de Courtenay's family—that was probably sculpted after her return from the crusade⁴⁰ and the death of her husband, she is commemorated as a returning crusader and as conferring franchises on her burghers and serfs (Figure 5.4). The Church of St-Adrien features a bare exposed façade. In the center of the ground floor of the church is an entrance door with a pointed, decorated Gothic arch.

Above the two lower floors, at the top of the façade, is an independent gallery supported by five columns bearing four triforium arches (in the style of the Nevers cathedral). The base of each column features sculpted images. In the center is the figure of a powerful noblewoman, her right hand on her hip in a gesture of power and authority. Part of her left hand has been broken but still holds the ribbon of her cloak of nobility and a large cross, very similar to the cross on the chest of the Count of Vaudémont. Her long hair falls freely. Sculpted left and right of her, on the lower parts of both sides of each of the two columns, is the twisted image of a serf. All four serfs are bare-legged, attired in the short costumes of poor peasants, and turn toward the countess as if listening to her pronouncement.

I contend that the iconographical program, in all probability initiated by Mahaut de Courtenay during the first half of the 1220s, represents an exceptional image of herself announcing the "Liberalities and Franchises" to the burghers of the towns of her domain and to her serfs.⁴¹ By holding the cross in her hand she demonstrates that she is a crusader who had returned from the Fifth Crusade with her late husband, Count Hervé de Donzy.

The Mosaic Panels from the Church of S. Giovanni Evangelista in Ravenna, Dated to 1213, Depicting Scenes from the Fourth Crusade

Since their excavation in 1763, the thirteenth-century panels from the mosaic pavement of San Giovanni Evangelista were first kept in the Cappella San



5.4 Mahaut de Courtenay and serfs, sculpted façade, Church of St-Adrien, Mailly-le-Château, France, thirteenth century. Courtesy of Eric Monnier-Couedor.

Bartolomeo and then installed along the walls of the basilica.⁴² The mosaics, each of which is framed by a frieze, were excavated as separate individual panels. Raffaella Farinoli Campanati and others have established that the mosaics reflect the events of the Fourth Crusade.⁴³ Furthermore, the panels have been studied and described as individual panels depicting various themes and images, some of which were often found in medieval iconography; however, no narrative created by the panels has been established.

I believe that these panels and several others from the same excavation in fact form an integrated system and should be read as a single, unified iconographical program. Such a reading reconstructs a possible program with a meaningful iconography in which the individual subjects and images play an essential part in forming the narrative—a program that I believe was initiated by the patron and unfolded before the believer as he walked through the church's middle nave. Moreover, in this context art should be read as a language in which gestures, costumes, and symbols constitute signs and codes.

I would like to argue that the pavement was donated (probably similarly to other pavements in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Lombardy and Emilia as an *ex voto*) by a donor who returned home to Ravenna from the Fourth Crusade. It was probably no coincidence that the donor chose the Church of San Giovanni Evangelista to install the mosaic. As is well known, this church was given by Empress Galla Placidia to the city of Ravenna in fulfillment of a vow she had made during her dangerous voyage from Constantinople to Ravenna in order to assume the rule of the Western Empire for her young son, Valentinian III.⁴⁴

It is well documented that between the fifth and the sixteenth centuries portraits of all members of the family of Theodosius were presented in the apse, accompanied by a scene showing St. John the Evangelist saving Theodosius's daughter, Galla Placidia, and her children from the storm at sea.⁴⁵ Thus, this memorial mosaic of Galla Placidia faced the believers and probably inspired the new donation of the mosaic pavement, a common and highly prominent artistic medium in Ravenna. The cycle presents an entire commemoration of a particular voyage and not just a collection of individual themes. My reconstruction of this new cycle reads it as a major narrative occurring in two registers situated in the middle of the program, with animals framing it below and above:

- The narrative appears to begin with a bishop presiding in his cathedral (identified by his mitre) while a nobleman dressed in a short robe and surcoat is giving him or receiving from him a scroll, which signifies a mission.
- The farewell scene of the knight or the nobleman taking leave of his wife. Both are standing at their castle. The man is on the left hand side waving to her and she is holding a flower as a sign of true love.
- At least two fragments of the sailing boats can be put together, beginning with the one showing the man blowing the horn.

- In the first register I include the soldiers setting off to war and an additional panel showing two individual soldiers doing battle.
- The battle of Zara and the battle of Constantinople. Both depict the act of killing and taking prisoners by the crusaders. The locations are identified by the Latin inscriptions: IADRA AD CEDEM and CONSTANTINOPOLIM.
- The voyage home, with the watchman standing at the masthead and gazing afar. This depiction can be combined with the fragment of the boat.
- The woman is handing the man a flower. This time she is situated on the left of the panel and he on the right. The story starts from her side. This is the story of a medieval Odysseus: the man who went on the crusade and came home safely.

The story is accompanied by two registers of animals and flowers opposite each other symbolizing human nature and its virtues and vices. I have tentatively reconstructed the registers with the animals symbolizing the virtues being placed above the cycle and the animals and additional fables symbolizing the vices below. The animals and flora standing for virtues are Ox, Stag, two Fishes, Flower, Unicorn, Dove, and another Flower. As is well known, each of them symbolizes Faith, Hope, Charity, and Purity. The creatures and animals in the lower register which stand for the vices are Tiger, Griffon, Harpie, Sirene, and Fox. These animals symbolize the Devil in his various appearances, as well as seduction, anger, and vanity. In addition two fables also depict vice: the Fable of the Fox and the Fable of the Goose. It is common knowledge that these animals and legendary beasts appear in the *Physiologus*, but they have also been quoted in these contexts in sermons, hymns, and other writings of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

In support of the suggested scheme, I tentatively place the monogram of Abbot Guglielmo who (according to an inscription) commissioned the mosaic in 1213,⁴⁶ and below him the figure of the woman holding the tree branch, regularly a symbol of faith and eternal life. She appears to have been the donor of the mosaic given in honor of her husband. This hypothesis is also supported by the date of the mosaic, 1213. If the knight returned in 1204–5, why was the mosaic donated only in 1213? It is more likely that it was after his death that his wife donated the pavement in his memory. Indeed, the image of the uprooted tree may suggest this event. The suggested reconstruction of the mosaic as a memorial narrative with two registers of animals symbolizing virtues and vices also recalls the structure of the Bayeux Tapestry, where the middle narrative is framed by images of animals and fables, as well as other twelfth-century mosaic pavements.

The style of the mosaic is linear and its color scale is limited. The strong contours, however, create a very bold and immediate narrative with an impression of conveying major events. At the same time, the artistic language presenting human gestures, costumes, and expressions is outspoken and uses the placement and postures of the figures in the composition as clear codes to

convey its messages. This artistic language supports the assumption that the cycle is a personal memorial, perhaps fulfilling a vow by the donor—himself the protagonist—or by his wife who donated it, perhaps after his death in 1213, at the time of Abbot Guglielmo.

The depiction of narratives of returning or departing crusaders appears mostly in private chapels, assuming various forms that reflect their patrons' choices within a Christological scheme. In general, ecclesiastical and lay private chapels of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries have not yet been studied as revealing the attitudes and intentions of their patrons. I hope that this preliminary examination of images of returning crusaders will serve as a beginning for a corpus of monuments commemorating departing and returning crusaders as well as a contribution to the much needed study of contemporaneous private chapels.

Notes

- 1 Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders 1095–1131* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 144–68.
- 2 Carl A. Willemsen, *Apulien: Kathedralen und Kastelle* (Cologne: Dumont, 1971), pp. 73–6.
- 3 Daniel H. Weiss, *Art and Crusade in the Age of Saint Louis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). Some scholars suggest a connection between the crusading window of Saint-Denis and the departure of King Louis VII on crusade (Elizabeth A.R. Brown and Michael W. Cothren, "The Twelfth-Century Crusading Window of the Abbey of Saint-Denis: Praeteritorum Enim Recordatio Futurorum Est Exhibitio," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 49 (1986): pp. 1–40).
- 4 Nurith Cahansky, *Die romanischen Wandmalereien der ehemaligen Abteikirche Saint Chef (Dauphiné)* (Bern: Francke Verlage, 1966); this was my dissertation written under the supervision of Professor J. Gantner at Basel University in 1964. At that time I completely disregarded crusader knights. Forty-eight years later I have revisited the murals and present here a completely different perspective. See also, more recently, Barbara Franzé, *La Pierre et l'image: L'église de Saint-Chef-en-Dauphiné* (Paris: Picard, 2011), which contains a large corpus of photographs.
- 5 Paul Deschamps and Marc Thibout, *La Peinture murale en France: Le haut moyen âge et l'époque romane* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1951), pp. 115–17. For illustrations, see Charles Lelong et al. (eds), *Touraine Romane* (La Pierre-qui-vire: Zodiaque, 1977). Unfortunately, there is no documentary evidence about the ecclesiastical or the lay patrons of the church in the relevant period.
- 6 Nurith Kenaan-Kedar and Benjamin Z. Kedar, "The Significance of a Twelfth-Century Sculptural Group: Le Retour du Croisé," in *Dei Gesta per Francos: études sur les croisades dédiées à Jean Richard*, (ed.) Michel Balard, Benjamin Z. Kedar, and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 29–44. I present here a summary of that research.
- 7 Anne McGee Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kingship in France, the Low Countries and England* (University Park, P.A.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), pp. 10–15. The volume presents the drawings of the sepulchral monument.
- 8 René de Lespinasse, *Le Nivernais et les comtes de Nevers*, 3 vols. (Paris: H. Champion, 1909–14); Marcel Anfray, *La Cathédrale de Nevers et les églises gothiques du Nivernais* (Paris: A. and J. Picard, 1964), pp. 46, 130, 140.
- 9 Raffaella Farioli Campanati, *I mosaici pavimentali della chiesa di S. Giovanni Evangelista in Ravenna* (Faenza: STable Grafico Fratelli Lega, 1970), pp. 169–222; Raffaella Farioli Campanati and Nurith Kenaan-Kedar, *Le copie dei mosaici medievali di San Giovanni Evangelista* (Ravenna: Scuola Bottega Mosaico, 2001), pp. 4–9 (Farioli Campanati) and 40–43 (Kenaan-Kedar), plates 10–39.
- 10 See Cahansky, *Die romanischen Wandmalereien*, pp. 11–13.
- 11 *Ibid.*, pp. 49–60 for further literature; Franzé, *La Pierre et l'image*, pp. 107–23.
- 12 Compare with Deschamps and Thibout, *La Peinture murale en France*, pp. 124–6.

- 13 Jean Valléry-Radot, "Note sur les chapelles hautes dédiées à Saint Michel," *Bulletin Monumental* 88 (1929): p. 453.
- 14 Odo de Gisey, *Discours historique de la très ancienne dévotion de N.-D. du Puy*, 3rd ed. (Le Puy, 1644), p. 285; *Gallia Christiana*, Volume 2 (Paris, 1720), cols 695, 755–6; Cahansky, *Die romanischen Wandmalereien*, p. 17, n. 27.
- 15 *Ibid.*, pp. 41–9. Franzé enlarged the corpus of high chapels but did not contribute new concepts or understandings.
- 16 Albert Lenoir, *Architecture monastique*, 2 vols (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1852–56), vol. 2, pp. 67–8.
- 17 Valléry-Radot, "Note."
- 18 Hans Reinhardt and Etienne Fels, "Etude sur les églises-porches carolingiennes et leur survivance dans l'art roman," *Bulletin Monumental* (1933): pp. 330–65 and (1937): pp. 425–69.
- 19 The dedicatory inscription in the apse is: CONSECRAT EST HOC ALTA / RE IN ONORE Dni NOSTRI JH U / XPI ET S OR ARC ANGELORUM / MICHAELIS GABRIELIS ET RA / PHAELIS ET S GEORGII MAR. See also Cahansky, *Die romanischen Wandmalereien*, p. 27.
- 20 Maria Luisa Gatti Perer (ed.), *Gerusalemme celeste: catalogo della mostra* (Milan: Università Cattolica del S. Cuore, 1983).
- 21 I do not deal with the church itself as it is not related to our topic.
- 22 Paul Duprat, "Les fresques de Tavant," *Bulletin Monumental* (1940): pp. 179–87; Paul-Henri Michel, *Les fresques de Tavant* (Paris, 1944). No patron of this edifice has been noted; the dates proposed extend from the first half of the twelfth century to its end (Deschamps and Thibout, *La Peinture murale*, p. 117).
- 23 Deschamps and Thibout, *La Peinture murale*, pp. 115–16; Hélène Tourbet, "Une scène des fresques de Tavant, l'iconographie des mois," *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 16 (1973): pp. 279–86.
- 24 Charles Lelong et al. (eds), *Touraine Romane*, pp. 215–21.
- 25 Tourbet, "Une scène."
- 26 Dom Angelico Surchamp, "Le Liget," in *Touraine Romane*, (ed.) Charles LeLong et al. (La Pierre-qui-vire: Zodiaque, 1977), pp. 255–84.
- 27 Deschamps and Thibout, *La Peinture murale*, p. 116.
- 28 Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, p. 97; Christopher Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), pp. 20–23. Otto von Simson writes: "For Suger's generation pilgrimages and crusades were no longer distinct. The church itself presented the Crusades as armed pilgrimages undertaken in defense of the Holy places ..." (*The Gothic Cathedral: Origins of Gothic Architecture and the Medieval Concept of Order*, 2nd ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), p. 79).
- 29 See the literature referred to in Kenaan-Kedar and Kedar, "Significance," p. 29 notes 2–5.
- 30 *Ibid.*, pp. 35–7.
- 31 Several pictorial traditions were at the service of the sculptor of this outstanding sculpted group. Major elements are Gallo-Roman embracing couples, images of couples in Romanesque and Gothic marginal sculpture, and the jamb statue images of women on the west façade of Chartres Cathedral. See Nurith Kenaan-Kedar, *Marginal Sculpture in Medieval France: Towards the Deciphering of an Enigmatic Pictorial Language* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995).
- 32 L'abbé Coffinet, "Trésor de Saint-Etienne de Troyes," *Annales Archéologiques* 20 (1860): pp. 80–97, especially p. 87.
- 33 The palatine church was established by Count Henry I "the Liberal" who was buried there. His tomb stood before the altar and his effigy was visible through the monument's frontal arches. The descriptions place the sepulchral monument of Thibaut III beside that of his father, Henry I.
- 34 Coffinet, "Trésor," pp. 80–97, especially p. 87; Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kingship*, pp. 12–15.
- 35 Xavier Dectot, "Les tombeaux des comtes de Champagne (1151–1284)," *Bulletin Monumental* 162, no. 1 (2004): pp. 10–44; Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kingship*, pp. 10–15. The figures around the monument, installed in niches, were Richard the Lionheart and Philip Augustus, Thibaut III's two brothers-in-law. Among the other figures were Sancho VI (Blanche of Navarre's brother) and Henry II of Champagne, as well as Marie of Champagne and Henry I "the Liberal" of Champagne, and Thibaut's sisters, Scholastique and Marie.
- 36 Elsewhere, I related to this monument in a totally different context of the relationship between the two sisters, Blanche and Berengaria of Navarre. See Nurith Kenaan-Kedar, "The Enigmatic

Sepulchral Monument of Berengaria (ca. 1170–1230), Queen of England (1191–1199),” *Assaph: Studies in Art History* 12 (2007): pp. 49–63.

- 37 Lespinasse, *Le Nivernais*, vol. 1, pp. 386, 392, 404, 498 and vol. 2, pp. 74, 77, 87, 94, 100.
- 38 For Pierre de Courtenay, see *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 87–9.
- 39 *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 404–8.
- 40 *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 94, 100.
- 41 *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 100.
- 42 A. Carile, “Episodi della IV Crociata nel mosaico pavimentale di San Giovanni Evangelista di Ravenna,” in *XXII Corso di cultura sull’arte ravennate e bizantina* (Ravenna: Longo, 1976), pp. 109–30.
- 43 Farioli Campanati, *I mosaici pavimentali*.
- 44 Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann, *Ravenna: Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes*, Volume 1 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1974), p. 93 and following.
- 45 See Farioli Campanati, *I mosaici pavimentali*, pp. 18–19, and additional literature cited there.
- 46 Raffaella Farioli Campanati, “I mosaici di San Giovanni Evangelista,” in Farioli Campanati and Kenaan-Kedar, *Le copie dei mosaici*, p. 5.

"If I forget you, O Jerusalem ...": King Philip the Fair, Saint George, and Crusade

Esther Dehoux

The first writing dedicated to St. George did not mention that he was a soldier. It described his execution and pointed out the variety of the torments that he faced during his seven years of torture and his ultimate death after three resurrections. It aimed to highlight the strength of St. George's faith and to arouse the admiration of believers,¹ but this account of George's martyrdom triggered more doubts and raised questions. In 494, worrying that believers' faith would weaken, Pope Gelasius ordered the text to be placed on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* and so outlawed the reading of the Passion of St. George. However, this papal decision could not erase the memory of the martyr of Cappadocia.² St. George's renown continued to increase,³ particularly during the eleventh and twelfth centuries when images showed that, before being a martyr, George was a warrior, using his weapons to deliver a young woman from a terrifying dragon.⁴

The stories of the First Crusade, especially the battle of Antioch, helped to reinforce—and to promote—the devotion of warriors to St. George.⁵ According to these stories, St. George had indeed appeared with his companions to rescue Christians and bring them to victory at Antioch,⁶ thus opening their way to Jerusalem. At the end of the twelfth century, the *Chanson d'Antioche* and the *Chanson de Jérusalem/Conquête de Jérusalem* still commemorated this intervention.⁷ St. George soon became the model and the protector of Christians wanting to "essalier Sainte Crestienté."⁸ However, he was not only the patron saint of crusaders. George also became the patron saint of England, and the kings of France, who honored St. Michael,⁹ also venerated St. George. The devotion of the Capetians to St. George can be understood by examining the manuscript considered to be the breviary of Philip the Fair, grandson of St. Louis and king of France between 1285 and 1314,¹⁰ and more specifically the miniature from folio 319v, where St. George is represented (Figure 6.1).

The breviary was created in Paris, probably between 1290 and 1295, and definitely before 1297.¹¹ The quality of the vellum, the luxury of the decoration, the similarity between the calendar of this book and other royal

6.1 Saint George, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS latin 1023, folio 319v, 1290–95. Bibliothèque nationale de France.



calendars as well as the presence of a king who is praying to the Virgin Mary in the illumination of the B of *Beatus vir*,¹² all point to this being a royal commission. The manuscript was thus probably designed for Philip the Fair himself, and may possibly have been conceived upon the king's request, although this cannot be proven.¹³ Kept in the library of Charles V¹⁴ and, today, in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, this manuscript contains 577 folios, including 164 miniatures often attributed to the workshop of the Parisian illuminator, Master Honoré.¹⁵ These illuminations evoke the history of Israel and present the lives of Christ and various saints and monarchs, making reference to older saints such as the Apostles and the first martyrs, as well as to more recent saints such as Thomas Becket and Peter of Verone, and various princes such as King David, Clovis, Heraclius I, and Louis IX.

On folio 319v, in an illumination linked to a text commemorating a saint's life, George appears as a knight with a gold-colored halo and a shield marked with a red cross.¹⁶ Holy and victorious, he marches into a fortified town. This city is unusual in that we see the two towers of the gateway, the outer wall with battlements, and arrow slits, but no guards. This last detail is an important clue to the identity of the city since, in medieval illuminations, there is only one town that is shown fortified and besieged by Christian soldiers, yet without defenders: Jerusalem.



6.2 Saint George, Templars' chapel, Cressac-St-Genis, murals on the reverse of the west façade, 1170–80. Courtesy of E. Dehoux.

The chronicles of the twelfth century do not mention the intervention of St. George in Jerusalem in 1099. Raymond of Aguilers and William of Tyre noted that while a council was being held to decide whether or not war machines should be withdrawn, a knight wearing a shield appeared on the Mount of Olives and signaled crusaders to advance and to conquer the Holy City, but they did not identify him.¹⁷ The *Chanson de Jérusalem/Conquête de Jérusalem* affirmed that George fought at the Christians' side and led them to Jerusalem.¹⁸ Jacques of Voragine, in his *Legenda aurea*, reminded readers of this intervention and said that George helped crusaders to conquer the Holy City. According to the Dominican, George appeared and invited them to follow him in order to attack the Saracens and storm Jerusalem.¹⁹ So versions differ, but the illumination of the royal breviary could be an allusion to this episode.

This is, in any case, an unusual choice of treatment because twelfth- and thirteenth-century murals, sculptures, and miniatures dedicated to George in France were more often inspired by his fight against the dragon (Figure 6.2). George could also be represented as a warrior simply riding a horse or, especially during the thirteenth century, as a martyr. His intervention in crusading warfare was not a common subject in French iconography. It is depicted in the twelfth century at Poncé-sur-le-Loir,²⁰ perhaps also at Cressac-



6.3 Saint George, Notre-Dame cathedral, Clermont-Ferrand, murals of the St. George chapel, end of the thirteenth century. Courtesy of E. Dehoux.

St-Genis,²¹ and on the current folio 1 of the manuscript 76F5 preserved in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek.²² It was also portrayed during the thirteenth century in the murals of the cathedral of Clermont (Figure 6.3).²³ Whether we look at murals or miniatures, George is always represented as a warrior holding his spear and pursuing his enemies. He is a valiant knight but he never attains victory.²⁴ The illustration chosen for the royal breviary, which shows St. George entering victoriously into Jerusalem without fighting any enemies, thus clearly differs from the others in multiple respects.

The miniature's singularity becomes more obvious after looking at illustrations of St. George produced in the Ile-de-France and occasionally at the request of the entourage of the French king. While George is rarely seen fighting in these images, he is often shown as a warrior²⁵ and also a martyr, two aspects of his personality that are frequently linked.²⁶ The wheel reminding us of his death can thus also be taken as one of his characteristics, as are the shield and the helmet.²⁷ Among these monumental representations only one differs from the others: that from Ste-Chapelle in Paris (Figure 6.4). Here, in mural paintings created in the 1240s at the request of the monarch or his advisers, the military dimension is fully omitted, allowing martyrdom alone to be the heart of the picture.²⁸ The difference between this last choice of treatment and that found in the illumination of the breviary is evident.

The originality of the breviary illumination becomes even clearer when we compare it to the other miniatures in the king's book. Out of the 164 miniatures of the manuscript, 119 are dedicated to saints, including 66 martyrs. In the case of nine martyrs, their torment was not illustrated. The illuminator preferred instead to depict the invention, i.e. the discovery, of their bodies,²⁹ their last moments before execution,³⁰ and their lives, accomplishments, or the miracles that occurred on their graves.³¹ Stories of their sufferings and miracles were used as sources of inspiration, but not in St. George's case. The episode chosen in this instance was inspired by chronicles or songs related to crusades. However the image makes no allusion to the intervention of saints during the battle of Antioch since it honors, above all, the patron saint of the crusaders, of those who care about Jerusalem's fate and want the liberation of the Holy Land. It attests to the special place granted to St. George in royal devotion. It reveals, moreover, the importance of the crusades in defining the royal ministry and highlights what was specifically of interest to the French king.



6.4 Martyrdom of Saint George, Notre-Dame cathedral, Paris, rose window of the west façade, 1250–75. Courtesy of F. Perrot.

In order to understand the message delivered by the miniature, we need to consider the entire manuscript and look at each illustration in the light of the rest. It is also important to put aside the commonly held view that all breviary illustrations relate to the same subjects. The Sanctoral cycle influences the selection of biblical episodes depicted and the choice of saints portrayed, but does not define it entirely. It is a framework within which it is always possible to choose one event or one character over another and, even if the selection is similar, to make different iconographical choices. Both similarities and dissimilarities thus bear a meaning, and together they create the specificity of the manuscript. Thus, each miniature has its own meaning and yet as a whole the miniatures contribute to the delivery of a message. The theme and the configuration selected for the miniature dedicated to St. George thus assume their true meaning when contrasted with the other pictures of the king's breviary.

The first miniatures which help us to glean this overall sense are the ones referring to the history of Israel. In addition to Solomon and David,³² the sponsor of the breviary has singled out Job, Toby, and Ezekiel.³³ He also calls to mind the exodus out of Egypt with a picture dedicated to the Feast of Booths.³⁴ Through these choices the election of the Hebrews and the promise of a new land, but also the expected fidelity and repentance, are clearly placed at the center of his discourse. God's Chosen People is an especially important aspect of his message. An illumination recalls Isaiah's vision of God who announces the fall of Israel and the future of the Chosen People.³⁵ It precedes representations of the Nativity, Christ's Resurrection and Ascension,³⁶ and

the Pentecost that establishes the beginning of the Church.³⁷ The suffering of Christ and the Jewish denial of the Messiah's existence are pivotal points;³⁸ they attest that the alliance between God and the Hebrews has ended and that a new alliance has emerged. After Christ's crucifixion and resurrection the Hebrews are no longer God's Chosen People. The Church is now the main beneficiary of divine favor.

The idea that God's choice had been transferred was frequently illustrated and attested during the thirteenth century,³⁹ and was often linked to a further idea, that God, who provided Israel with its kings, also provided the Christian people with princes, "new Davids" who were entrusted with the task of bringing God's plan to fruition and contributing to the salvation of his people. This idea fed ambitions and served as the basis of new political claims. The Capetians were all too willing to make their claim for this holy election.⁴⁰ The particular attention given to monarchs in the manuscript thus becomes clearer. By reading the manuscript, Philip the Fair is encouraged to consider and meditate on the example of five other princes: Constantine, Heraclius I, Clovis, Chlothar II, and Louis IX.⁴¹ The choice of these particular kings deliberately seeks to highlight the distinctiveness of Frankish kings and, more specifically, the Capetians. It places them in a line of continuity with David and Solomon, the Israelite kings, and also, without making any reference to Charlemagne, with Roman emperors along with Byzantine monarchs. By representing the baptism of both Constantine and Clovis,⁴² this choice of subject matter also aims to elevate the French kingdom to a political entity that is destined to follow the Christian Roman Empire and become commensurate with Christianity itself and even, ideally, the entire world. The French king is thus portrayed as the king chosen by God to take care of his people so that all can, one day, contemplate the glory of Christ.

Philip the Fair is reminded of the duties that cannot be separated from his mission as a chosen king. Two monarchs in particular serve to remind him of these obligations: Heraclius I, a kind of proto-crusader who fought the Persians in order to recover the True Cross and Jerusalem,⁴³ and Louis IX, the crusader king, who brought the Crown of Thorns to Paris.⁴⁴ Both monarchs worried about the fate of the Holy Land, both were concerned with the liberation of Jerusalem, and, sensitive to Christ's own sacrifice, both were willing to avenge his death. This was no longer simply a matter of emphasizing the distinctiveness of Frankish kings. The main goal here was in fact to persuade Philip the Fair actually to focus on Jerusalem and to fulfill the wish that his predecessors had expressed to conquer and free the holy places.⁴⁵ Philip had to conquer Jerusalem and become its ruler. There, on the Mount of Olives, the last Christian king—Philip, it is implied, or at least a Capetian—would return Christ's scepter at the end of Time, since controlling the City of David was one of the absolute conditions for the Parousia. This context thus allows us to gain a better understanding of the importance of the crusades in Capetian ideology, and a better appreciation both of its impact on the illuminations of the manuscript and, more particularly, on the originality of the choice of representation of St. George. The most prestigious victory,

the storming of Jerusalem, is promised to and reserved for the French king because he is chosen by God. It is, then, not surprising that the miniature of the royal breviary is the only depiction of St. George that shows him victoriously marching into Jerusalem.

This theme is explicitly related to the glory of the Capetian king, but nonetheless needs a more nuanced interpretation of certain choices made by the sponsor. The presence of the three soldiers and the war machine—a catapult—that they use, is no accident.⁴⁶ Rather, it is a way of denouncing the boldness of a king who might think that he was himself able to conquer Jerusalem by using just his military power. The three soldiers are equipped with chainmail and a steed, as is St. George. They are taller than him and possess a war machine, but it is George, alone and without fighting, who is seen entering the Holy City, which is being unsuccessfully besieged by the three soldiers. The contrast is evident and the picture significant. No matter how strong, rich, or powerful he may be, the prince who does not benefit from God's favor will not take over the Holy City. He will inevitably fail and God's plan for humanity will then be achieved without him, by another king.⁴⁷

The miniature is, then, a promise as well as a warning. The promise might have seemed unbelievable at the time when the manuscript was created: the illumination asserts that the Latins will recover the Holy Land because God will allow victory. The course of history could lead to doubt about this because, after losing Jerusalem, the Christians were also defeated in Acre. The picture is therefore a promise, but also a caveat: Philip the Fair, convinced that he was chosen by God, knows that he has to undertake "the recovery of the Holy Land"⁴⁸ and that the victory is, ideally, promised to a Capetian. However, he can no longer ignore the possible consequences of his boldness and his distrustful attitude towards the clergy and Rome. Given that peace, with justice, is the main feature of the kingdom of the last Christian sovereign,⁴⁹ we can better understand the reference to King Chlothar II in this context. Indeed, this ruler serves as a specific model for Philip the Fair. Through his 614 edict "to restore peace and discipline" to all Frankish kingdoms after wars and murders, Clothar II contributed to unity and also to peace, as did Philip's grandfather, St. Louis, whom Pope Boniface VIII held up as an example of a king who worked to establish peace in his realm.⁵⁰

Relations between Boniface VIII and Philip the Fair were tense. Their conflict came at a time of expanding nation states and a desire for the consolidation of power by increasingly powerful monarchs. During his reign, Philip surrounded himself with the best civil lawyers and definitively expelled the clergy from all participation in the administration of the law. Philip was convinced that the wealth of the Catholic Church in France should be used in part to support the state. Boniface protested the use of Church funds for state purposes and also affirmed that "God has set popes over kings and kingdoms."⁵¹ This would lead to an act of offense, the Anagni slap in 1303, when Boniface VIII was struck by Guillaume of Nogaret, representative of the king of France.

Conclusion

The miniature of the breviary is representative of the manuscript and, more specifically, of its double-edged message. It seeks to urge the prince towards undertaking his appointed mission. Yet, it also reminds him that God's election is never definitive. The volume might thus have been produced at the request of a cleric rather than at the demand of the king himself. Was the sponsor perhaps a member of a religious order or an abbot of St-Denis who knew of the Capetians' claims and who wanted to defend the position of the clergy in the monarch's close circle? The fact that the manuscript twice reminds the reader that David, chosen by God, was anointed by Samuel, and that Chlothar II benefited from the advice of St. Eligius, would have helped to underline the value of the clergy's recommendations, to legitimate their position close to the king, and, by suggesting the possible risks of neglecting the role of the clergy, to counter the attention that Philip the Fair gave to legists. Nevertheless the breviary is favorable towards the French king. Its illuminations express the Capetians' convictions: the French monarch is elected by God, intends to lead God's people to salvation, and is in charge of his destiny until the end of times. The Capetian thus has to conquer the Land promised by God to his people, just as the Hebrews did in their time. He cannot claim to be chosen by God and maintain that he has an eschatological mission to achieve if he neglects Jerusalem. The Parousia cannot occur if the Holy City does not belong to Christians; the crusade is thus one of the Capetian's chief duties. Seen from this perspective, we can better understand the attention given to St. George by the Frankish kings and can better appreciate the reasons behind the unusual treatment of St. George in the breviary of Philip the Fair.

Notes

- 1 *Acta sancti Georgii martyris*, AASS, April 3, pp. 117–22. Franz Cumont, "La plus ancienne légende de saint Georges," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 114 (1936): pp. 5–51.
- 2 *Das Decretum Gelasianum de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis in kritischen Text*, (ed.) Ernst von Dobschütz (Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1912), p. 84.
- 3 George is mentioned in liturgical texts (see Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *Laudes regiae. Une étude des acclamations liturgiques et du culte du souverain au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Fayard, 2004), pp. 265–8; Jean Flori, "Chevalerie et liturgie. Remise des armes et vocabulaire 'chevaleresque' dans les sources liturgiques du IX^e au XIV^e siècle," *Le Moyen Âge* 84 (1978): pp. 436–8) and chronicles (see Raoul Glaber, *Historiæ*, (ed.) Mathieu Arnoux (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), pp. 184–5; Geoffroy Malaterra, *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae comitis et Roberti Guiscardii ducis fratris ejus*, (ed.) Ernesto Pontieri (Bologne: Nicola Zanichelli, 1924), pp. 43–4). His renown and the success of his cult in the West were partly a consequence of exchanges between Byzantium and the Anglo-Saxon world.
- 4 Christopher Walter, *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 125–44; Georges Didi-Huberman, Riccardo Garbetta, and Manuela Morgaine, *Saint Georges et le dragon. Versions d'une légende* (Paris: Biro, 1994), p. 42.
- 5 James B. MacGregor, "Negotiating Knightly Piety: The Cult of the Warrior-Saints in the West, ca. 1070–ca. 1200," *Church History: Studies in Christianity and Culture* 73 (2004): pp. 317–45; Esther Dehoux, "Iconographie de l'archange et réforme grégorienne en Aquitaine septentrionale (X^e–XIII^e siècle)," in *Rappresentazioni del Monte e dell'Arcangelo san Michele nella letteratura e nelle arti. Rappresentazioni du Mont et de l'archange saint Michel dans la littérature et dans les arts*, (ed.) Pierre Bouet, Giorgio Otranto, André Vauchez, and Catherine Vincent (Bari: Edipuglia, 2011), pp. 109–33.

- 6 About apparitions of warrior-saints, see Jean Flori, "La chevalerie céleste et son utilisation idéologique dans les sources de la première croisade: autour de la bataille d'Antioche (28 juin 1098)," in *Chevalerie et christianisme aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles*, (ed.) Martin Aurell and Catalina Girbea (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2011), pp. 271–90; Esther Dehoux, "Saint Michel, saint Pierre et les sarrasins. Guerre, organisation sociale et préoccupations eschatologiques (IX^e siècle-début du XII^e siècle)," in *L'Arcangelo Michele: dalla storia alla leggenda*, (ed.) Giampetro Casiraghi (Stresa: Edizioni Rosminiane, 2012), pp. 77–102.
- 7 *La Chanson d'Antioche*, (ed.) Suzanne Duparc Quioc, 2 vols (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1976–78), vol. 1, v. 9052–9079; *La Chanson de Jérusalem*, (ed.) Nigel R. Thorp, The Old French Crusade Cycle 6 (Tuscaloosa-London: University of Alabama Press, 1992), v. 9375–9383.
- 8 Jacques of Voragine wrote that Saint George is "dux christianorum" *Legenda aurea*, (ed.) Giovanni Paolo Maggioni (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1998), p. 398.
- 9 Colette Beaune, *Naissance de la nation France* (Paris: Gallimard, 1985), pp. 188–206.
- 10 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS latin 1023.
- 11 The feast day of Saint Louis appears to have been added into the calendar at a later date along with additional fols at the end of the manuscript, which include the Office of Saint Louis. This suggests that the manuscript was created before the king's canonization in 1297 and revised thereafter.
- 12 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS latin 1023, fol. 8. A similar configuration is found in the Breviary of the Sainte-Chapelle of Paris (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 1042), created between 1285 and 1297 in Paris and designed for a queen; a queen is praying to the Virgin Mary on the illumination of the B of *Beatus vir* (Léopold Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V, roi de France, 1337–1380* (Paris: Champion, 1907), p. 180; *L'art aux temps des rois maudits, Philippe le Bel et ses fils* (1285–1328) (Paris: RMN, 1998), pp. 275 and 284).
- 13 Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, pp. 179–80 and 410; *L'art aux temps des rois maudits*, p. 275.
- 14 Jules Labarte, *Inventaire du mobilier de Charles V, roi de France* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1879), p. 337, n. 3284: "Item, ung autre Bréviaire entier à l'usage de Paris, très bien escript et ystorié, dont la seconde page se commance quam irritaverunt, et est couvert aux armes de France à fleurs de lys d'or trait, et sont les fermouers d'or plaz, à ung carré des armes de monseigneur le Daulphin, et la pippe a deux petites esmeraudes, troys grenatz et deux grosses perles."
- 15 Léopold Delisle linked this manuscript to Master Honoré through royal accounts dating to 1296 (*Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, p. 181). The account mentions "Pro uno breviario facto pro rege, 107 l. 10 s." and "Honoratus illuminator, pro libris regis illuminandis, 20 l." On these accounts, see Julien Havet, "Compte du trésor du Louvre (Toussaint, 1296)," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 45 (1884): pp. 252–3, art. 203 and 215. A number of scholars share Delisle's view (Georg Vitzthum, *Der Pariser Miniaturmalerei von der Zeit des hl. Ludwig bis zu Philipp von Valois und ihr Verhältnis zur Malerei in Nordwesteuropa* (Leipzig: Quelle and Meyer, 1907), pp. 46–54; Charles Sterling, *La peinture médiévale à Paris, 1300–1500*, 2 vols (Paris: Bibliothèque des arts, 1987–88), vol. 1, pp. 48–50; François Avril in *L'art aux temps des rois maudits*, p. 275), whilst others are more circumspect (Fernand de Mély, "Le miniaturiste Honoré," *La Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne* 17 (1910): pp. 345–58; Rudolf Blum, "Maître Honoré und das Brevier Philippe des Schönen," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswezen* 62 (1948): pp. 225–30; Victor Leroquais, *Les breviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 2 vols (Paris: Protat, 1933–34), vol. 2, p. 474; Ellen Kosmer, "Master Honoré: A Reconsideration of the Documents," *Gesta* 14 (1975): pp. 63–8).
- 16 The caparison is also marked with a red cross which does not have a national signification in this illumination. It is not a reference to the colors of England, but simply St George's own coat of arms, again depicted in the miniature dedicated to this saint in the breviary of Paris, the so-called breviary of King Charles V (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS latin 1052, fol. 361).
- 17 William of Tyre, *Historia rerum gestarum in partibus transmarinis*, Recueil des historiens des croisades, Historiens occidentaux 1 (Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 1844), p. 349 (bk. 8, ch. 16); Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, Recueil des historiens des croisades, Historiens occidentaux 3 (Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 1866), p. 299.
- 18 *La "Conquête de Jérusalem" faisant suite à la "Chanson d'Antioche" composée par le Pèlerin Richard et renouvelée par Graindor de Douai au XIII^e siècle*, (ed.) Célestin Hippeau (Paris: A. Aubry, 1868), ch. VI, XI.
- 19 Jacques of Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, p. 398.
- 20 Poncé-sur-le-Loir, Saint-Julien church, murals on the north wall of the nave, 1160–70. See Elizabeth Lapina, "La représentation de la bataille d'Antioche (1098) sur les peintures murales de Poncé-sur-le-Loir," *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 52 (2009): pp. 137–57.

- 21 Cressac-St-Genis, Templars' chapel, murals on the north wall of the nave, 1170–80. See Christian Davy, "Les peintures murales romanes de la chapelle des templiers de Cressac," *Congrès archéologique de France* (1995): pp. 171–7.
- 22 La Haye, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 76 F 5, fol. 1, circa 1190–1200. George's intervention in crusading warfare is linked to a map of Jerusalem and, at the end of the thirteenth century, to a copy of a poem written by Huon of Saint-Quentin after the Fifth Crusade, *La Complainte de Jérusalem contre Rome* (in *Huon de Saint-Quentin. Poète satirique et lyrique. Étude historique et édition de textes*, (ed.) Arié Serper (Madrid: Potomac, 1983). On these illuminations and this text, see Esther Dehoux, Amandine Le Roux, and Matthieu Rajohnson, "'Rome, vos estes refroidie d'aider la terre de Surie': Originality and Reception of Huon de Saint-Quentin's Critical Discourse," in *Contextualising the Fifth Crusade*, (ed.) Liz Mylod, Guy Perry, Thomas Smith, and Jan Vandeburie, forthcoming.
- 23 Clermont-Ferrand, Notre-Dame cathedral, murals of the Saint-George chapel, end of the thirteenth century.
- 24 In France, George rarely strikes his enemy or the dragon before the fourteenth century. The illumination on fol. 1 of the manuscript 76F5 kept in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, the murals of the Templars' commandery in Coulommiers, and the seal of William of Gonesse (Auguste Coulon, *Inventaire des sceaux de la Bourgogne* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1912), plate LX) are exceptional: George strikes one of his adversaries or the monster with his spear.
- 25 Limoges, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 2, fol. 129v, 1250–60; Chartres, Notre-Dame cathedral, rose of a stained glass window on the north wall of the nave, 1205–15; Chartres, Notre-Dame cathedral, stained glass window 112, partly kept in the Princeton University museum, 1205–15.
- 26 Chartres, Notre-Dame cathedral, sculpture of the martyrs' great door (south facade), 1230–35; Chartres, Notre-Dame cathedral, stained glass window on the north wall of the nave (133), 1205–15.
- 27 Paris, Notre-Dame cathedral, rose window on the west façade, 1250–75 (Figure 6.4); Paris, Notre-Dame cathedral, sculpture on the arch of the south great door, 1250–75.
- 28 Paris, Sainte-Chapelle, medallion on the reverse of the west façade, 1240–50. Saint George's martyrdom is also depicted in manuscript illuminations (Books of Hours or *Legenda aurea*): San Marino, Huntington Library, H.M. 3027, fol. 49, end of the thirteenth century; New York, Morgan Library, M. 92, fol. 109v, second quarter of the thirteenth century.
- 29 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS latin 1023, fol. 334° (Gervais and Protais).
- 30 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS latin 1023, fol. 358v (Victor), fol. 464 (Simon and Jude), and fol. 496 (Catherine).
- 31 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS latin 1023, fol. 448v (Aure) and fol. 493 (Clement).
- 32 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS latin 1023, fols 7v, 8, 9, 16, 21, 26, 31, 42, 54, 202v, 212 and 215.
- 33 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS latin 1023, fol. 217v, 224, and 242.
- 34 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS latin 1023, fol. 36v.
- 35 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS latin 1023, fol. 70v.
- 36 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS latin 1023, fols 86v, 165v, and 187v.
- 37 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS latin 1023, fol. 193v.
- 38 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS latin 1023, fols 9 and 42.
- 39 Nicole Bériou, "Saint Michel dans la prédication (XII^e–XIII^e siècles)," in *Culte et pèlerinages à saint Michel en Occident. Les trois monts dédiés à l'archange*, (ed.) Pierre Bouet, Giorgio Otranto, and André Vauchez (Rome: ÉFR, 2003), pp. 213–14.
- 40 Joseph R. Strayer, "France: the Holy Land, the Chosen People and the Most Christian King," in *Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europe. Essays in Memory of E. H. Harbison*, (ed.) Theodore K. Rabb and Jerrold E. Seigel (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), pp. 3–16; Sophia Menaché, "Un peuple qui a sa demeure à part. Boniface VIII et le sentiment national français," *Francia* 12 (1984): pp. 193–208; Jerzy Pysiak, "Philippe Auguste. Un roi de la fin des temps?," *Annales. Histoire, sciences sociales* 57 (2002): pp. 1165–90; M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, "Louis IX, Crusade and the Promise of Joshua in the Holy Land," *Journal of Medieval History* 34 (2008): pp. 245–74.
- 41 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS latin 1023, fols 283, 426v, 447, 267, 389v, and 393v.
- 42 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS latin 1023, fols 283 and 447.

- 43 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS latin 1023, fol. 426v.
- 44 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS latin 1023, fol. 389v. "*Translatio sancte Corone Domini nostri Ihesu Christi*," in Natalis de Wailly, "Récit du XIII^e siècle sur les translations faites en 1239 et 1241 des saintes reliques de la Passion," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 39 (1878): pp. 409–10.
- 45 Pierre Dubois, *De recuperatione Terre Sancte*, (ed.) Charles-Victor Langlois (Paris: Picard, 1891).
- 46 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS latin 1023, fol. 319v.
- 47 On the theory of *reditus* and its denial by Philip the Fair, see Elizabeth A.R. Brown, "La généalogie capétienne dans l'historiographie du Moyen Âge. Philippe le Bel, le reniement du *reditus* et la création d'une ascendance carolingienne pour Hugues Capet," in *Religion et culture autour de l'an Mil. Royaume capétien et Lotharingie*, ed. Dominique Iogna-Prat and Jean-Charles Picard (Paris: Picard, 1990), pp. 199–214.
- 48 Pierre Dubois, *De recuperatione Terre Sancte*.
- 49 Isaiah 11:6.
- 50 M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, "Boniface VIII, Philippe the Fair, and the Sanctity of Louis IX," *Journal of Medieval History* 29 (2003): pp. 1–26.
- 51 Pope Boniface VIII wrote this in a letter, "*Ausculat fili*," addressed 5 December 1301 to Philip the Fair (ed. Pierre Dupuy, *Histoire du différend d'entre le pape Boniface VIII et Philippe le Bel roy de France* (Paris, 1655), pp. 48–52.



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The Crusaders' Holy Land in Maps

P.D.A. Harvey

The two centuries of the crusader presence in the Near East were an interesting period in the development of west European mapmaking. At the end of the eleventh century maps were scholars' constructs, based on traditional forms that had come down from the Romans, and their production seems to have centered on England and northeast France. Two hundred years later, maps of this kind were still being drawn, but others, especially in Italy, were now starting to be based on direct observation, showing regions, coastlines, and towns as the mapmaker himself knew them or as someone had described them to him. In one important respect, however, little had changed: few maps were drawn and they were only beginning to be used for the many practical purposes for which we now take maps for granted. Hard though we find it to understand, the crusaders planned their campaigns, moved across country, allocated conquered lands, and administered their newly established states, all without using maps. And, of course, of the few maps that were drawn only a small proportion will have survived to the present. All the same, we do have maps of the Holy Land in the period of the crusades. It appears in detail on several maps of the whole world, on three of them in great detail; there are eight regional maps that we know through 23 surviving artifacts; and there are town plans of Jerusalem and Acre.¹ Each of these three sorts of map had a different origin and a different history.² To our eyes the maps seem crude and often far from accurate but, as we shall see, precise delineation was not necessarily their object, and they served their intended purposes well. They were above all for contemplation, for reflection on the events played out in the Holy Land that the Bible told of, and some might be seen as a substitute for actual pilgrimage or, indeed, as a call to crusade.

Most medieval world maps were no more than simple diagrams, circles divided by straight lines to show either the northern hemisphere's three continents, Europe, Asia, and Africa, or else, seeing the sphere from the side, the five climatic zones, the two frigid at the poles, one torrid around the equator, and two temperate zones in between. A few, however, are more detailed, showing outlines of continents and islands and, increasingly, towns,

rivers, and boundaries. The outlines will have come from the world maps of the Roman period, probably at many removes. Repeated copying by draftsmen who knew nothing of the correct outlines was of itself enough to produce distortion, but there were probably deliberate changes too, to transform accurate but meaningless geographical outlines into shapes that reflected the divine ordering of the world or had other spiritual significance—a process we shall see at work in the way some maps moved Jerusalem to be at the center of the world. Besides the outlines, other information may well have come from maps of the Roman period or from later literary works that gave geographical information, such as the encyclopedic *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville.

The Cotton or Anglo-Saxon world map, drawn in the early eleventh century, gives some detail of the Holy Land: the River Jordan, Jerusalem, which it places on the coast, several other towns, and the names of nine of the Twelve Tribes with boundaries drawn between them.³ Two other world maps provide similar but different information; the Munich map of about 1130 shows simply a series of towns, and its Jordan flows into the Red Sea,⁴ while on the Sawley map of about 1190 we see all the Twelve Tribes with their boundaries.⁵ Each of these three maps was drawn on the page of a book. The Cotton map was probably drawn at Canterbury, the Munich map in or near Paris, the Sawley map at Durham, and it was also in northern France and England that the large and elaborate world maps of the thirteenth century originated; within their geographical outlines, notes and pictures provided a great variety of information about the strange peoples and customs, exotic animals and birds, and historical or mythical events connected with parts of the world far from western Europe. We know three of these maps in detail:

- the Vercelli map, drawn probably in northern France in the early thirteenth century as a draft or cartoon from which a fair copy could be made;⁶
- the Ebstorf map, drawn in north Germany in the late thirteenth century but probably copied from an original map of about 1240;⁷ and
- the Hereford map, drawn in about 1300 from a slightly earlier map produced at Lincoln.⁸

Others we know from documentary references or, in one case, the Duchy of Cornwall map, a surviving fragment,⁹ and it seems that in the thirteenth century these encyclopedic sheet maps of the world were a distinctive product of northwest European culture, made not perhaps in hundreds, for they were luxury items of great value, but in dozens, to adorn the walls of royal palaces, cathedrals, and religious houses, possibly for instruction and certainly for contemplation of the scope and wonder of God's creation in all its variety.¹⁰

Medieval world maps have long attracted scholarly interest, and recently much new light has been thrown on the large encyclopedic world maps. The Duchy of Cornwall fragment was first described in 1989,¹¹ Patrick Gautier Dalché has brought to light texts that describe the world's geography from maps now lost,¹² and there have been important investigations of each of the

three of which we have detailed knowledge: an investigation of the Vercelli map by C.F. Capello in 1976,¹³ work on the Hereford map triggered by the abortive proposal by its owners, the Dean and Chapter of Hereford, to sell it in 1989,¹⁴ and work on the Ebstorf map, destroyed in an air raid in 1943, culminating in Hartmut Kugler's meticulous reconstruction and analysis in 2007.¹⁵

On these three great world maps the non-geographical features are more restrained in the Holy Land than in some other parts of the world, and nearly all refer to the Bible. At Mount Gilboa on the Vercelli map is a note that neither rain nor dew falls there, following David's curse on the death of Saul and Jonathan. The Ebstorf map shows Jerusalem as the square heavenly city of the book of Revelation, with Christ rising from the tomb, and beside it is a camel. On the Hereford map we see the whole course of the Exodus from a point near "Joseph's barns" (*Orrea Ioseph*), that is, the pyramids, across the Red Sea to Mount Sinai, where the Israelites worship the golden calf and Moses brings down the tables of the law, then through the desert in a series of loops to end by crossing the Jordan to Jericho—passing on the way the figure of Lot's wife turned to salt.

Like most detailed maps of the world in the Middle Ages, our three encyclopedic maps have east at the top. None provides a completely reliable picture of the Holy Land. On the Vercelli map the Jordan flows into the Mediterranean and on the Ebstorf map apparently into the Red Sea, while on the Hereford map deep gulfs of the sea must be crossed to reach Anatolia and Egypt, giving the Holy Land coasts to the north and south as well as to the west. All three show many towns in the Holy Land—indeed, there are more on the Ebstorf map than on any earlier regional map—and on all three they are marked by buildings: a simple block with tower on the Vercelli map, but more elaborate on the others and on the Hereford map often approaching the fantastic. Along the coast is ranged a series of towns from Tripoli to Gaza, very alike on all three and mostly in correct sequence. Inland there are more differences between the maps, but the towns on all three include Nazareth, Bethlehem, and Jerusalem, as well as a selection of other places named in the Gospels. These are less correctly positioned than the places along the coast, often because on all three maps Jerusalem has been moved north to lie west of the Sea of Galilee. On the Ebstorf and Hereford maps this has brought Jerusalem to the exact center of the circle of the inhabited world, and we can see this as an example of the way maps might be adjusted to carry a message of spiritual import. Jerusalem is not at the center of the Vercelli map but it lies on the map's east-west axis and we may suppose that the map was based on one centered on Jerusalem but was altered in copying; the mapmaker may not have seen the significance of having Jerusalem at the exact center or may have thought it unimportant. We must remember that behind each of these maps lie others, now lost; the mapmaker may have copied one in its entirety, he may have taken parts—a whole region or a tiny detail—from one and parts from another, or he may have introduced new features from some literary source.

In our six earliest regional maps of the crusader period, dating from about 1200 to the mid-thirteenth century, we see a similar process at work. All six took their outlines and principal features from world maps. We cannot link any of them with any of the world maps we know, but clearly it would be an extraordinary chance if we could. We can, however, link particular idiosyncratic features with those on world maps: an apparently irrelevant bird perches on the mound of Mount Gilboa on one of Matthew Paris's two regional maps of Palestine and on the Vercelli map, while on both Matthew's maps we see the lines of the Jordan continuing uninterrupted across one or other of the river's lakes—the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea—just as we see in the sea of Galilee on the Sawley world map.¹⁶ The Mediterranean coast can be seen on only two of the three Tournai maps, but on both we find broadly the same sequence of towns, from Tripoli to Gaza, as on the three encyclopedic world maps.

The four oldest of our regional maps date from about 1200. Three were drawn at St Martin's abbey at Tournai in Belgium and the fourth probably not far away in northeast France. This last, the Ashburnham Libri map,¹⁷ belonged in the mid-nineteenth century to Guglielmo Libri, an Italian of noble family who was professor of statistics at the Sorbonne in Paris and author of a four-volume work on the history of mathematics. A keen collector of manuscripts, he bought, sold, and stole them—this last facilitated by serving as secretary of a commission to oversee the cataloguing of manuscripts in French provincial libraries—and he had many of these stolen manuscripts fraudulently altered. This was probably how he acquired the map of Palestine; on it he had the Red Sea redrawn to give it an obviously phallic shape, pointing to the range of hills that he named the mountains of the Israelite women. His object was presumably to sell at an enhanced price what would be seen as an erotic fantasy created in a monastic scriptorium. If we overlook Libri's vandalism it is a handsome map, clearly copied from an earlier exemplar but carefully drawn and painted, with gold squares marking the principal towns; within the framework taken from a world map, detail has been added from one of a group of interconnected descriptions of the Holy Land that date from the mid- or late twelfth century, among them the works of Theoderic and Rorgo Fretellus.

The three Tournai maps are harder to disentangle.¹⁸ They are on the last leaf of a manuscript of works by Saint Jerome and what we now see there have been called the Jerome maps: on the recto a portrait-format map of Asia, from Constantinople to the Far East, with Anatolia drawn disproportionately large, and on the verso a landscape-format map of Palestine. However, careful examination shows that the map of Asia is drawn over an earlier map of Palestine, in landscape format, that has been entirely erased, and that the map of Palestine on the verso is effectively an adaptation of an earlier map of the area that has been mostly erased and redrawn. We thus have three Tournai maps of Palestine, besides the map of Asia. Reading what has been erased is difficult and often impossible, but we can tentatively reconstruct the sequence of the maps' composition, probably over quite a short period, for it can be

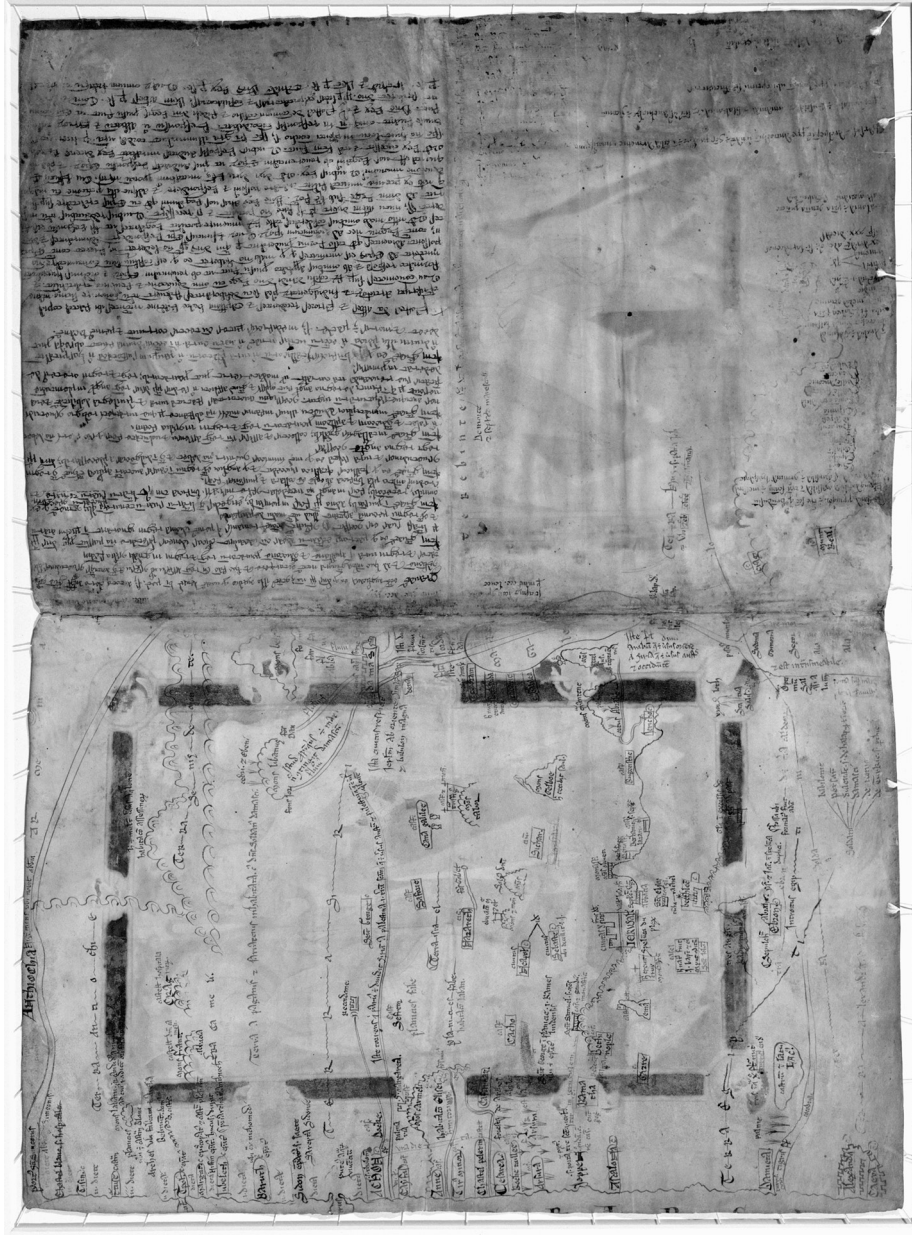
shown that they are all in the same hand, the work of a single mapmaker at Tournai.

The first to be drawn was probably the map on the recto that was replaced by the map of Asia. Very little of it can be seen, but near its center was Jerusalem in the same distinctive form as on the other side of the leaf: a double circle, interrupted by probably four gates, with a tall tower on a hill beside it, the tower of David and Mount Sion. Otherwise we can see only traces of red town symbols and a very few of their names, but enough to show that it was quite a simple map covering just Palestine, with the Mediterranean coast at the foot and the Jordan along the top. A few words can be read from seven blocks of text written on the map, showing that one at least was a summary account of the holy sites. We can see a good deal more of the second map, on the other side of the leaf, for it was only partially—and less successfully—erased to convert it into the third map, the map we now see. It is likely that the second map was based on the same map of the world as the first; Jerusalem takes the same shape, there is probably the same column of names above the city on both, and both show Bethsura, a place that appears on no other map before the Burchard-based maps at the end of the thirteenth century. However, while focused on Palestine, the second map covers a much wider area than the first and we may suppose it was drawn to show the area in its geographical context, including Anatolia to the north, the Nile and Egypt to the south, and extending east as far as the Ganges. There were no blocks of text on the map, but there are some signs that the world map it was taken from offered quite a variety of information: the names and bounds of provinces are shown in Anatolia, we see the columns of Hercules and of Alexander, one sort of tree is sketched in the woods of Hircania and another at the oracle of the sun and the moon.

The Tournai map of Asia, drawn over the erased first map of Palestine, is of particular interest, for it has recently been shown by Patrick Gautier Dalché that it derives ultimately from a map of the world that was drawn very possibly as early as the fifth century.¹⁹ It extends no further south than Damascus and the region of Galilee, and as it places a deep gulf of the sea between Anatolia and Palestine it was clearly not from the same world map as the first and second Tournai maps. On the back of the leaf the second map of Palestine was radically altered to turn it into the third map, probably to reconcile it with the map of Asia on the front. On this third map of Palestine, as on the Hereford map, gulfs of the sea give Palestine northern and southern coasts facing Anatolia and Egypt, Anatolia's provinces have been erased—they differed from those on the map of Asia—the courses of the Nile and Euphrates have been changed, and towns have been erased, moved, or added. It has become a quite different map. However, all the Tournai maps have one feature in common: apart from the blocks of text on the first map, no use has been made of contemporary accounts of the Holy Land and we see nothing of the crusades or other recent events. If, and it is far from certain, Belmont Abbey appears on the second map as *Montbel*, this is exceptional.

We have two maps of Palestine drawn by Matthew Paris, monk of St. Albans, chronicler, and artist, who died in 1259: the Oxford map, in a manuscript at Corpus Christi College, and the Acre map, dominated by a disproportionately large plan of the town. In both we find more reference to the crusades and to recent events than in the Tournai maps. The Oxford map (Figure 7.1) was not Matthew's own creation;²⁰ it was copied, with increasing haste, from a map to which he can have had only limited access, for as we move from top left to bottom right it becomes ever sketchier, with fewer details and more mistakes. It was drawn on the back of a piece of parchment that must have been discarded, though the drawings on the front are of considerable quality; dating from the 1140s, they show Christ's Deposition from the Cross and the three Marys at the sepulcher.²¹ Already one quarter of the back had been used for copies (not in Matthew's hand) of texts relating to a list of grievances sent by the English clergy to the pope in 1246; the result is a curiously L-shaped map on the other three quarters. Alone among all these maps of the Holy Land it has north, not east, at the top; however, the world map that provided its framework was almost certainly east-oriented and we may suppose that the map Matthew copied was transposed in this way to be more conveniently hung up in palace or castle, cathedral or religious house. It may well have been a truly sumptuous production and Matthew probably intended to make a fair copy from his sketch, but if he did it is now lost. Details had been brought into the map from one of a closely linked group of accounts of the Holy Land that were written in French in the thirteenth century;²² crusader castles are named—Chastel Blanc, Kerak, and others—and in the map's detailed northern end several monasteries appear, while the route shown from Jaffa to Jerusalem reflects the agreement of 1229 to keep it open for Christian pilgrims.

Matthew's Acre map is quite different. We have three versions, each in his own hand, and each is on a full opening in a quire of drawings, diagrams, and maps that is prefixed to a volume of his chronicles.²³ It follows a five-page graphic itinerary from London to Rome and south Italy and may be seen as part of the same sequence, i.e., as the end of the journey from England to the Holy Land. The three versions differ only in detail. On all three a plan of Acre takes up nearly a quarter of the whole map; it is our earliest plan of the town and Matthew probably compiled it from the account of someone who knew the town well, very possibly the master of the foundation of St. Thomas of Canterbury at Acre, who visited St. Albans in 1257. About a dozen buildings are drawn and named on the plan—they differ from one version to another—and not all are correctly placed, while outside the city wall are the suburb of Montmusard, the cemetery, and a camel. Jerusalem, on the other hand, is shown as quite a small battlemented square enclosing just three monuments: the Temples of Solomon and of the Lord, and the Holy Sepulcher. Also on the map is a series of coastal towns south of Acre, the Nile with the new Babylon and Cairo, the Jordan with the Dead Sea, Damascus, and, in the northeast corner, a quadrant marking the Caspian Mountains behind which Alexander the Great enclosed the forces of Gog and Magog. Recent events are reflected

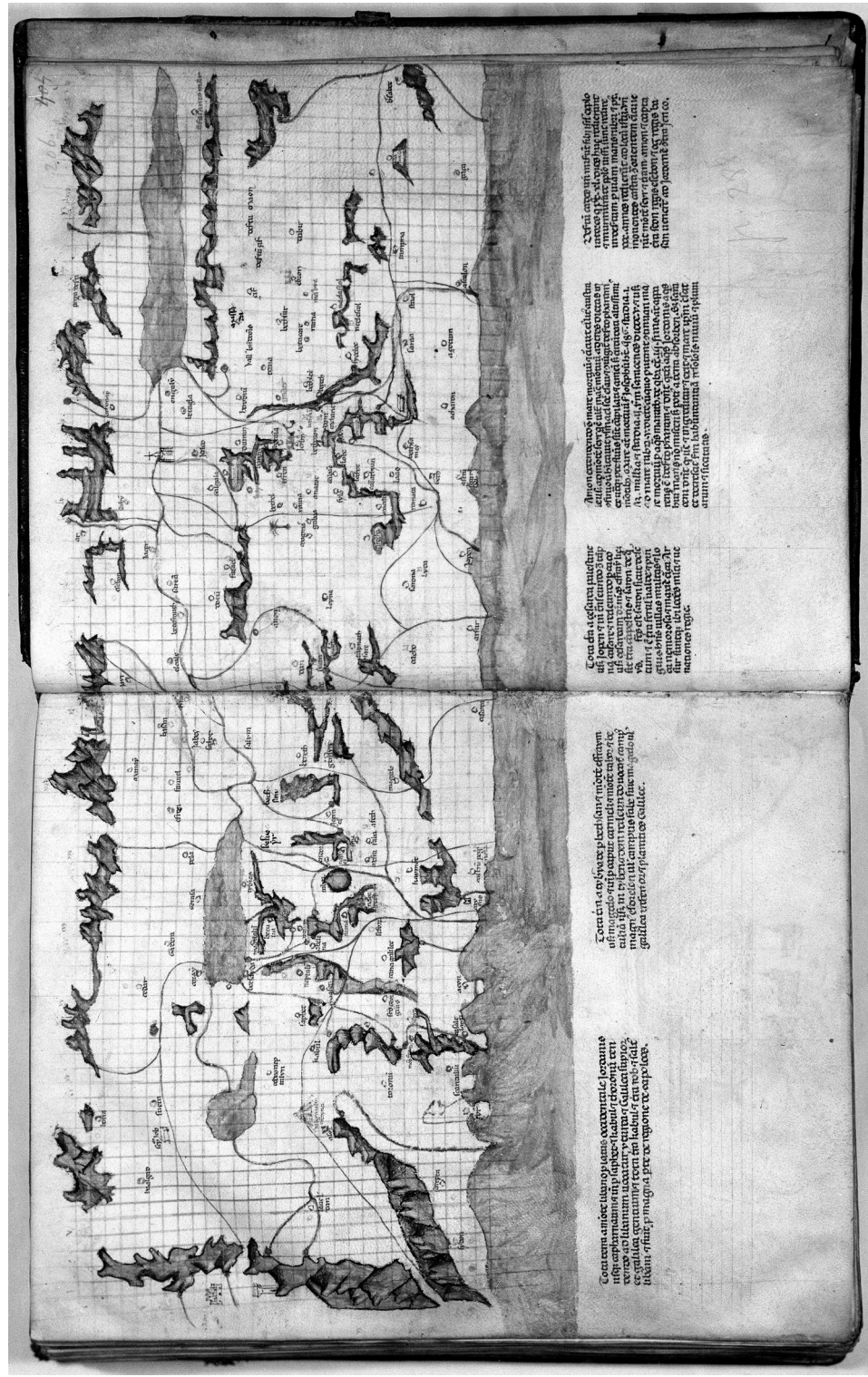


7.1 Oxford map of Palestine by Matthew Paris, Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 2r, fol. 1v, 2r, mid-thirteenth century; the heavy lines that dominate the map belong to the pictures on the back of the parchment. Corpus Christi College, University of Oxford.

in the appearance of Mansourah, where Louis IX was captured in 1250. But besides the plan of Acre it is the many blocks of text that dominate the map. Many are more or less the same on all three versions, but many are not and, unlike the details from accounts of the Holy Land on the Ashburnham Libri map and Matthew's Oxford map, they do not come from a single source. They include a note on the Old Man of the Mountain, the story of the tree that bent down to give its fruit to the Virgin, and a long note on Africa. Matthew's Acre map demanded careful and long perusal from its readers.

Our two remaining regional maps of the area from the crusading period are both based on the work of Burchard of Mount Sion, the fullest and most entertaining of medieval accounts of the Holy Land. It dates from the 1280s and in some manuscripts of a version of the text addressed to a fellow Dominican in his native Germany, Burchard tells how he has attached a map "so that all these things can be the better pictured"; this may or may not have been a version of one of our two maps.²⁴ Of one, the small Burchard map, we have only a single copy, and this can be no more than a travesty of what the original mapmaker drew;²⁵ thus the twin sources of the Jordan lie near the coast, far from the rest of the river, Damascus lies even nearer the coast, and a whole block of names from the heart of the country, Sebaste and Nablus among them, has been shifted west to the coast between Lydda and Caesarea Palestina. How these and other errors arose we can only guess. However, the map is closely linked to Burchard's text by many notes that are practically word for word what he wrote, most of them referring to events in the Old or New Testament.

In contrast, the large Burchard map is among the most impressive of all medieval maps. For one thing, it is indeed large: the three surviving copies measure from 1.7 to 2.2 m from side to side and from 41 to 52 cm from top to bottom.²⁶ For another, it seems to owe nothing to a world map, but rather is a completely original composition by a mapmaker who knew the Holy Land well. It is just possible, but unlikely, that we could say the same of the small Burchard map if we knew what it looked like when first drawn. As on the small map, many notes on the large map come from Burchard's text, but they are more often paraphrased, not verbatim quotations. Along the coast to the north the large map covers less than Burchard's text, extending only to Sidon, while in other directions it extends to Damascus, to the mountains beyond the Jordan, and to the end of the Dead Sea and Gaza. It names some 150 places, more than any other of the maps described, and while a very few date from the crusades the notes tell us nothing of this but give only biblical information that would interest the armchair pilgrim. The Twelve Tribes are named, with their boundaries, and the Jordan is given an exaggeratedly winding course. It can be shown that none of our three copies exactly reproduces what the mapmaker first drew; the latest of the three, drawn in the late fourteenth century, is probably closest to the original, except that its south end has been severely compressed. The earliest dates from about 1300, so the map was copied over a long period and probably many copies once existed, given that all large sheet maps are highly vulnerable and have a poor record of survival.



7.2 Grid map of Palestine, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 190, fols. 205v–206r, circa 1320. Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

But the large Burchard map also demonstrates how much better maps in books survive; of its derivative, the grid map (Figure 7.2), we have nine complete copies and one that was begun and then abandoned.²⁷ Of all the maps described it is only the grid map that can be directly linked to the crusades—and not to the crusades achieved, but to the abortive attempts of the wealthy Venetian Marino Sanudo in the 1320s and 1330s to persuade the pope and the secular powers of Europe to launch a new one to recover the Holy Land. His *Book of secrets of those faithful to the Cross* (*Liber secretorum fidelium crucis*) urged a strategy of blockading Egypt, and we can see that the growing awareness in Italy of their value made maps a natural, even important, accompaniment to his text; a world map, five charts of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, a map of the eastern Mediterranean with lands to the east, a map of Palestine, and plans of Jerusalem and Acre are, most or all, in each copy of the book. The winding course of the Jordan is only the most obvious sign that the map of Palestine is an abridged version of the large Burchard map; the notes from Burchard's text have gone, but most of the places named are to be found on the large map and it could be that if we had the mapmaker's original, large Burchard map we would find them all there. The map's most remarkable feature is a grid dividing Palestine into 83 spaces from north to south and 28 from east to west; this was probably an ingenious adaptation of a grid used for copying the large map (it appears on one of our three copies and in part, erased, on another), allowing Sanudo to provide an index in his text to all the places shown. Sanudo may himself have had the idea of this grid-based index, or it may have come from Pietro Vesconte, the Venetian chartmaker in whose workshop the maps were drawn. Six of our copies of the grid map are in surviving manuscripts of Sanudo's work that he distributed to important people in western Europe, another is in a set of the maps without text that he gave to Pope John XXII, and two more are in copies of the *Great chronology* (*Chronologia magna*) by Paolino Veneto, who knew Sanudo's work and who must have known Vesconte as well. Indeed, it has been suggested that the idea of the set of maps, the grid map of Palestine among them, could have originated with Paolino.²⁸

Strangely, for they are important in the context of medieval mapmaking, these regional maps of the Holy Land have been little studied over the past hundred years. In the late nineteenth century they were investigated especially by scholars writing in German or Italian, and the work of Reinhold Röhricht and Konrad Miller is basic to what we know of them.²⁹ But throughout the twentieth century they were neglected, with a few exceptions: Richard Vaughan threw light on all the maps by Matthew Paris, Evelyn Edson drew attention to the interest and importance of his Oxford map of Palestine, and Bernhard Degenhart and Annegrit Schmitt, working on the illustrated manuscripts of texts by Marino Sanudo and Paolino Veneto, added significantly to our knowledge of the maps they included.³⁰ But only in 2012 did publication and discussion of all the regional maps take forward the work of more than a century before, breaking new ground throughout.³¹

Just as Matthew Paris's Acre map can be seen simply as a plan of Acre set in a wide geographical context, so some plans of Jerusalem can be seen as maps of much of the Holy Land. One of the four plans of Jerusalem from the time of the crusades, known from a single twelfth-century manuscript, shows the city as an irregular quadrilateral, reflecting direct knowledge,³² and it can be seen as the precursor of later realistic plans: of Matthew Paris's Acre in the mid-thirteenth century and of Jerusalem, Acre, and Antioch that accompany some of the fourteenth-century grid maps.³³ Three other plans of Jerusalem were in existence by the twelfth century, but they are all rather further from reality, showing the city in more or less stylized form within a circular wall; one of them shows scarcely more than the wall with six gates.³⁴ Another, more detailed plan, sometimes called the *Situs Jerusalem*, is known from 11 copies;³⁵ they are all broadly alike in the street plan and buildings of the city, but while three mark only a few nearby sites outside the city wall, the rest extend a good deal further, three of them as far as the Jordan. All are pictorial: buildings, towns, and mountains are drawn, in more or less stylized form, as seen from the side. Of the third circular plan we have just two copies that look quite different from each other and it is only recently that Hanna Vorholt has shown that they really are the same map;³⁶ one is a simple ink sketch but the other is carefully drawn and colored, with names placed in small circles. Within Jerusalem nothing is marked but Calvary and the Holy Sepulcher, the Temples of Solomon and of the Lord, and the Hospital of St. John, but from its gates routes connect the city with the Jordan, the Dead Sea, and the Mediterranean coast and with more than 20 other places, mostly sites of biblical events and of pilgrimage.

We have seen that the crusaders made no practical use of any of these maps, whether maps of the world, regional maps, or town plans. Why then were they drawn? What purpose were they meant to serve? The three Tournai maps were drawn by a monk for his fellow monks, and so was Matthew Paris's Acre map, for he did not envisage the circulation of his chronicle outside St. Albans Abbey. So too, very likely, was our Ashburnham Libri map, but the exemplar from which it was copied may well have come from some other wealthy household, religious or secular, just like the map that Matthew Paris copied for his Oxford map. All six regional maps originated in the general area of southern England and northeast France, and we can see them as byproducts of the encyclopedic world maps that probably originated in the same area and that provided the framework for them all. All will have been for contemplation and reflection on the events recorded in scripture, serving in religious houses as learned adjuncts to readings of the Bible and in secular households as constant reminders of the call to pilgrimage and to crusade.

When we move to the Burchard-based maps we may suppose a slight change of emphasis. Their role in contemplation and reflection continued, and the call to crusade was of course the explicit focus of the grid maps. But Burchard wrote his text, he explained, for those who wished to make the pilgrimage to the Holy Land yet, for whatever good reason, were unable to undertake it; in reading it, they could experience in imagination something of

the joys, the spiritual thrills, of those who actually made the journey.³⁷ We may see the maps in the same light; with their many quotations from Burchard, explaining what happened in so many places, they could be perused in the same way as the text. A new emphasis on personal devotion and piety in the late Middle Ages, among lay people as well as the religious, coincided with the very gradual growth in the use and understanding of maps in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and this is the background to the replication of the large Burchard map. It is not just that there must once have been far more copies in existence than the three that have survived; two of the three were made in Italy, but the latest, our late fourteenth-century copy, was made in England, so we may suppose that it was being copied not only over a long period but throughout western Europe.

Bernhard Degenhart and Annegrit Schmitt, writing in 1973 about the illustrations in manuscripts of the works of Marino Sanudo and Paolino Veneto, saw the grid maps and town plans as a distinct but integral part of the graphic program.³⁸ Little artistic merit can be found in most of the maps described here, even in those of the artist Matthew Paris, but they represent a form of graphic expression that was just starting to find its feet during the period of the crusades and that reflected the religious culture of the time. In this context these maps of the Holy Land are of great interest.

Notes

- 1 P.D.A. Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land* (London: British Library, 2012) gives fuller accounts of the maps discussed here and illustrates them all. They are more briefly discussed, along with medieval texts describing Palestine, in John R. Bartlett, *Mapping Jordan through Two Millennia*, Palestine Exploration Fund Annual 10 (Leeds: Maney Publishing, 2008), pp. 6–27.
- 2 There is a general account of medieval maps in J.B. Harley, David Woodward, and Matthew Edney (eds), *History of Cartography 1: Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), pp. 283–501, and a short but well-illustrated overview in P.D.A. Harvey, *Medieval Maps* (London: British Library, 1991).
- 3 London, British Library, Cotton MS Tiberius B,v, fol. 56v, discussed and illustrated, with bibliography, by Peter Barber, “Medieval Maps of the World,” in *The Hereford World Map: Medieval World Maps and their Context*, (ed.) P.D.A. Harvey (London: British Library, 2006), pp. 4–8, Figure 2.
- 4 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 10058, fol. 154v, discussed and illustrated, with bibliography, by Barber, “Medieval Maps of the World,” pp. 8–10, Figure 3.
- 5 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 66, p. 2, discussed and illustrated, with bibliography, by Barber, “Medieval Maps of the World,” pp. 10–13, Figure 4.
- 6 Discussed and illustrated by Carlo F. Capello, *Il mappamondo medioevale di Vercelli (1191–1218?)* (Turin: C. Fanton, 1976).
- 7 Reproduced and edited by Hartmut Kugler, *Die Ebstorfer Weltkarte*, 2 vols (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2007).
- 8 Edited by Scott Westrem, *The Hereford Map: A Transcription and Translation of the Legends with Commentary* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001) and also illustrated and discussed by P.D.A. Harvey, *The Hereford World Map: Introduction* (Hereford: Hereford Cathedral, 2010).
- 9 London, Duchy of Cornwall Office; discussed and illustrated, with bibliography, by Barber, “Medieval Maps of the World,” pp. 19–23, Figure 7.
- 10 P.D.A. Harvey, “The Holy Land on Medieval World Maps,” in *The Hereford World Map: Medieval World Maps and their Context*, (ed.) P.D.A. Harvey (London: British Library, 2006), pp. 243–51; Patrick Gautier Dalché, “Pour une histoire des rapports entre contemplation et cartographie au

- Moyen Âge," in *Les méditations cosmographiques à la Renaissance*, (ed.) Frank Lestringant and Jean-Marc Besse (Paris: PUPS, 2009), pp. 32–5.
- 11 Graham Haslam, "The Duchy of Cornwall Map Fragment," in *Géographie du monde au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance*, (ed.) Monique Pelletier (Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 1989), pp. 33–44.
 - 12 See the following works by Patrick Gautier Dalché: *La "Descriptio mappe mundi" de Hugues de Saint-Victor* (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1988); the "Expositio mappe mundi" in *Du Yorkshire à l'Inde: une géographie urbaine et maritime de la fin du XI^e siècle* (Geneva: Droz, 2005); "Eucher de Lyon, Iona, Bobbio: le destin d'une *mappe mundi* de l'antiquité tardive," *Viator* 41 (2010): pp. 1–22; and, in general, "Maps in Words: the Descriptive Logic of Medieval Geography, from the Eighth to the Twelfth Century," in *The Hereford World Map: Medieval World Maps and their Context*, (ed.) P.D.A. Harvey (London: British Library, 2006), pp. 223–42.
 - 13 Capello, *Mappamondo medioevale di Vercelli*.
 - 14 Notably the studies in P.D.A. Harvey (ed.), *The Hereford World Map: Medieval World Maps and their Context* (London: British Library, 2006).
 - 15 Kugler, *Ebstorfer Weltkarte*.
 - 16 Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land*, pp. 70, 71.
 - 17 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham Libri MS 1882, discussed and illustrated in Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land*, pp. 31–39.
 - 18 London, British Library, Additional MS 10049, fol. 64r, v, discussed and illustrated in Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land*, pp. 40–59.
 - 19 Gautier Dalché, "Eucher de Lyon, Iona, Bobbio."
 - 20 Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 2* (formerly MS 2), fols. 1v, 2r; discussed and illustrated in Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land*, pp. 60–73.
 - 21 It has been thought that they were drawn in St Albans because of Matthew's map on the other side (thus Claus M. Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts, 1066–1190* (London: H. Miller, 1975), pp. 101–102), but it is by no means certain that this was where he acquired the parchment and copied the map.
 - 22 Henri Michelant and Gaston Raynaud (eds), *Itinéraires à Jérusalem et descriptions de la Terre Sainte*, Publications de la Société de l'Orient latin, série géographique 3 (Geneva: J.-G. Fick, 1882), pp. xix–xxi, xxvii–xxviii, 87–104⁷, 177–99.
 - 23 London, British Library, Royal MS 14 C.vii, fols 4v–5r; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MSS. 16, fols iii v–iv r (until 2003, fols ii v, v r), and 26, fols iii v–iv r. They are discussed and illustrated in Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land*, pp. 74–93.
 - 24 "Que omnia, ut melius possint ymaginari, mitto vobis simul pellem, in qua omnia ad oculum figurantur" (Johan C.M. Laurent (ed.), *Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrich, 1873), p. 10).
 - 25 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Plut. 76.56, fols. 97v–98r, discussed and illustrated in Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land*, pp. 141–6.
 - 26 Florence, Archivio di Stato, Carte nautiche, geografiche e topografiche 4; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.877; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 389. They are discussed and illustrated in Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land*, pp. 100–106, 128–40, figs. 48, 65, 66.
 - 27 They are listed, discussed, and illustrated in Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land*, pp. 107–27. The example shown here in Figure 7.2 is from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 190, fols 205v–206r.
 - 28 Bernhard Degenhart and Annegrit Schmitt, "Marino Sanudo und Paolino Veneto: zwei Literaten des 14. Jahrhunderts in ihrer Wirkung auf Buchillustrierung und Kartographie in Venedig, Avignon und Neapel," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 14 (1973): p. 60; Evelyn Edson, *The World Map, 1300–1492* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), pp. 70–74.
 - 29 Konrad Miller, *Mappaemundi: die ältesten Weltkarten*, 6 vols (Stuttgart: Roth, 1895–98), vol. 3; Reinhold Röhrich, "Karten und Pläne zur Palästinakunde aus dem 7. bis 16. Jahrhundert," I, VI. *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* [sic] 14 (1891): pp. 8–11, plate I, and 18 (1895): pp. 173–82, plates V–VII; Röhrich, "Marino Sanudo sen. als Kartograph Palästinas," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästinavereins* 21 (1898): pp. 84–126, plates 2–11.
 - 30 Richard Vaughan, *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), pp. 235–49; Evelyn Edson, "Matthew Paris' 'Other' Map of Palestine," *The Map Collector* 66 (1994): pp. 18–22; Degenhart and Schmitt, "Marino Sanudo und Paolino Veneto," pp. 1–137.

- 31 Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land*.
- 32 Cambrai, Centre culturel, MS 437, fol. 1r; discussed and illustrated in Ludwig H. Heydenreich, "Ein Jerusalem-Plan aus der Zeit der Kreuzfahrer," in *Miscellanea pro arte: Hermann Schnitzler zur Vollendung des 60. Lebensjahres am 13 Januar 1965*, (ed.) J. Hoster and P. Bloch (Düsseldorf: L. Schwann, 1965), pp. 83–90, plates 1, 2; Rudolf Simek, "Hierusalem civitas famosissima," *Codices Manuscripti* 12 (1992): pp. 123, 127, 141.
- 33 Degenhart and Schmitt, "Marino Sanudo und Paolino Veneto," pp. 78–80, 120–22.
- 34 Simek, "Hierusalem," pp. 123, 126, 143–4.
- 35 All, except one reproduced in Harvey, *Medieval Maps*, p. 90, are reproduced and discussed by Simek, "Hierusalem," pp. 121–6, 133–5, 137–40, 145–7.
- 36 Hanna Vorholt, "Studying with Maps: Jerusalem and the Holy Land in Two Thirteenth-Century Manuscripts," in *Imagining Jerusalem in the Medieval West*, (ed.) Lucy Donkin and Hanna Vorholt (London: British Academy, 2012), pp. 163–200; the carefully drawn plan is also described and illustrated in Simek, "Hierusalem," pp. 122, 142.
- 37 Laurent, *Peregrinatores*, p. 20.
- 38 Degenhart and Schmitt, "Marino Sanudo und Paolino Veneto."

The Crusader Loss of Jerusalem in the Eyes of a Thirteenth-Century Virtual Pilgrim

Cathleen A. Fleck



For Jaroslav Folda



For a Christian pilgrim throughout the Middle Ages, a visit to Jerusalem and its Christological sites signified a journey of faith and deliverance. If a devotee could not get to the holy city, other actions and prayers could take the place of pilgrimage to allow her redemption through contemplation on the sites of Christ's life and suffering. In this paper, I shall discuss the thirteenth-century Riccardiana Psalter, now in Florence, which I believe offered a virtual spiritual visit to Jerusalem for someone who was unable to go there.¹ This diminutive prayerbook contains, in this order: a calendar at the start, a table calculating solar cycles, several individual prayers, 150 psalms punctuated by eight colorful scenes of the life of Christ, a set of liturgical cantica, a litany of saints, and a number of brief prayers at the end.² In an attempt to go beyond issues of style and localization that have been the overriding preoccupation of past scholarship, I shall lay out the historiography and consider two new questions. First, what does this manuscript reveal about its original reader?³ Second, in what ways do this manuscript's images and texts connect to the crusader loss of Jerusalem and enable the reader to be a virtual pilgrim to the Holy Land in the early thirteenth century?⁴ While textual signs are the first indicators of a female owner and of associations with the Holy Land, I shall argue that the visual richness and geographic allusions offered by the prayerbook's images affirm that she was seeking devotional connections, both concrete and spiritual, with the Holy Land. The images could be read as a compelling pictorial guide to the land where Christ lived and died for a woman who desired solace and salvation through her prayers.

To start, let me provide some background on the situation in the Holy Land in the crusader era (1099–1291) at the time of the Riccardiana Psalter's purported creation circa 1225–35. Christian crusaders took Jerusalem in 1099 from Egyptian Fatimid rulers, and lost it in 1187 to Saladin, the Ayyubid Sultan of Egypt and Syria (1138–93). In 1191, the crusaders regained Acre, but not Jerusalem, and for the next century Acre was their capital. In 1225, the marriage of the Emperor Frederick II (1194–1250) (Holy Roman Emperor

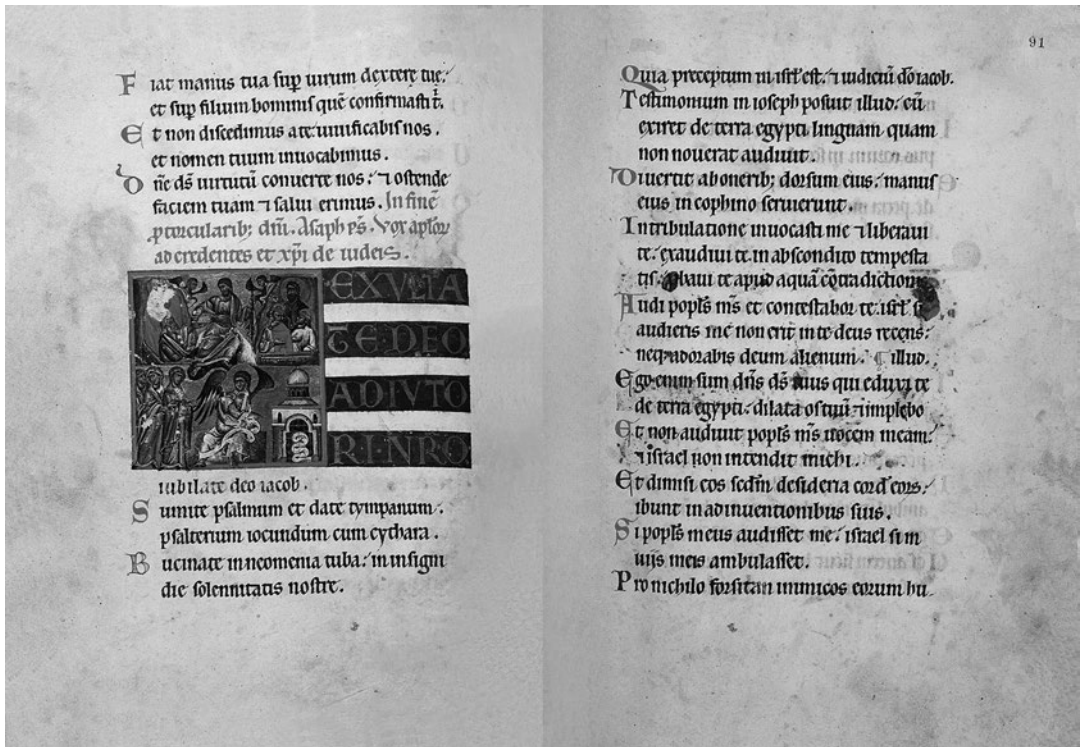
(1212–50), King of Sicily (1198–1250), and King of Jerusalem (1225–50)) to Isabel (or Yolande) of Brienne (1212–28), heir to the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, led Pope Honorius III (1216–27) to hope that Frederick would lead a crusade to regain Jerusalem. This was not the case. Only after the next pope, Gregory IX (1227–41), excommunicated Frederick, was the emperor goaded into a trip east. Though Frederick did not try to capture Jerusalem militarily, his negotiations gained him control of the city from 1229–39.⁵ In Jerusalem, only the Dome of the Rock, which remained in Muslim hands, was not under his control.

It was roughly during this period that the Riccardiana Psalter was created, perhaps in the Holy Land or in Sicily. Some scholars such as Hugo Buchthal date the psalter to approximately 1235, or the period of Christian access to Jerusalem.⁶ Jaroslav Folda dates the manuscript to circa 1225, before Frederick had negotiated access to the city.⁷ While I agree with the general dating period, I contend that the intended reader—and maybe its scribes and artists—likely had no regular access to the city; thus Frederick's treaty was not a deciding factor in its creation. Given this situation, why is this manuscript often called a *crusader* psalter by scholars?

A Crusader Psalter?

As I turn to my two questions about the use of the psalter and the special nature of this manuscript's images, often inserted into the category of "crusader art," I wish to consider both how to define crusader art and whether the definition is appropriate for this psalter. Usually the term crusader art refers to art produced in the Holy Land—by artists or for patrons once in the Holy Land—during the main period of the Christian crusades (approximately 1095–1291), when western Christians had access to sites in the Holy Land.⁸ While the dating of the manuscript corresponds to these parameters, at the same time its importance may not derive so much from its connection to military endeavors or the crusades' main actors as from its expression of its owner's intense desire to visit the Holy Land.

Textual clues in the Riccardiana Psalter indicate one way that the manuscript, its owner or its patron, and its model relate to the Levant and the crusades. For instance, the calendar includes an entry for the liturgical holiday of July 15, the day that the Franks captured Jerusalem in 1099 and on which the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem was consecrated in 1149.⁹ Other calendar entries for bishops of Jerusalem lend to the Palestinian character.¹⁰ All of these feasts became a standard part of the liturgical cycle at the Church of the Holy Sepulcher during the crusader era. As liturgical scholars Arno Mentzel-Reutgers and Cristina Dondi explain, these feasts most likely derived from feasts celebrated by early crusaders in their European homelands and then combined with feasts that were special to the region of the Holy Land, ultimately developing a unique liturgical calendar in Jerusalem.¹¹ Already in the twelfth century, this liturgy began to spread in a



reverse direction, outward from Jerusalem, as communities, individuals, and books left the Holy Land to return home to Europe.

The mixed iconographic traditions of the Riccardiana Psalter also strongly connect it to the art of the Holy Land. As Jaroslav Folda explains, typically crusader art combines aspects of the Levant's cultures and their constituent parts, namely the Byzantine and Muslim "East" with the European "West," which came into contact because of the political and economic circumstances of the crusades.¹² The high-quality Riccardiana Psalter does have a combination of western and Byzantine iconography in its images, which can be clearly seen by comparing the typically Byzantine fourteenth-century Anastasis or Christ's Descent into and Rising from Hell mural now in the Church of the Holy Savior in Chora (or Kariye Camii) in Istanbul and the Anastasis scenes in the psalter (Figure 8.1).¹³ The psalter's depiction of the resurrected Christ descending into Hades to retrieve the Just, such as Adam and Eve, was more common in Byzantine traditions than in the West. On the other hand, the appearance of three women at the tomb of the resurrected Christ, just below in the same frame in the psalter, appears more commonly in European images, as I discuss below. While the calendar indications plus the combination of Byzantine and European imagery points to a Holy Land connection for the psalter in the crusader era, the term "crusader art" has narrowed scholarly examination of the psalter and thus left out certain fruitful ways of looking at the manuscript.

8.1 Christ's Descent into and Rising from Hell and the Women at the Tomb, The Riccardiana Psalter, Riccardiana Library, MS 323, fol. 90v, ca. 1225–35, colors on parchment. Biblioteca Riccardiana.

The Riccardiana Psalter's Origins: For a Reader far from the Holy Land?

What scholars know of the origins of the Riccardiana Psalter derives from investigations begun by Buchthal several decades ago. He first named the psalter a crusader manuscript because of its mixed iconography and its notable mention of Holy Land feast days in the calendar. In trying to determine where the psalter might have first been used, Buchthal pointed out that St. Benedict and St. Anne appear high in the order of the litany of saints, or listing of saints to whom a reader should pray.¹⁴ He thus put this information together to propose that the model manuscript came from a certain convent where these two would be especially honored, the Benedictine convent of St. Anne, which was once in crusader Jerusalem and then in Acre after 1187.¹⁵ Buchthal postulated that such a luxurious manuscript must have been made for a wealthy and important woman, whom he suggested was Isabel, the third wife of Frederick II.¹⁶ He proposed this connection because in the litany, St. Elizabeth, a variant of Isabel, is given a place of prominence among the female saints as the sixth woman listed.¹⁷

Jaroslav Folda, in agreement with my graduate school research paper on the topic that I shared with him, proposed an alternative royal female recipient, Queen Isabel II (or Yolande of Brienne) of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (1211–28), second wife of Frederick II.¹⁸ Frederick married 14-year-old Isabel in 1225, and from 1225–28 Frederick ruled the kingdom of Jerusalem as king consort until her death in 1228.¹⁹ Isabel left her home in the Holy Land and arrived in Brindisi, Italy in 1225. She stayed in southern Italy and never returned to her home. The northern French saints also in the litany would be appropriate for Isabel's family from the north French Champagne region.²⁰ The Jerusalem references in the Riccardiana Psalter would be especially fitting for Isabel II, as Queen of Jerusalem.²¹ The south Italian style suggests that someone could have had this manuscript made in the Holy Land for Isabel by a Sicilian artisan, or, alternatively, in Sicily to recall the Holy Land. For this royal reader, the images would act as a nostalgic substitution for her home that she left behind and as a reference to her political place as queen of Jerusalem and consort of Frederick of Sicily. The manuscript's images offered an enhancement of her piety through their virtual visit to the sites of Christ's life while keeping her safe from the instabilities of the Levant.

The story of a manuscript made in the Holy Land or even in Sicily for Jerusalem's young, absent queen is suggestive and even dramatic, yet I am now questioning this direct connection to Frederick II and Isabel II.²² One main problem with the argument of the Riccardiana Psalter's production in the Holy Land by Frederick for Isabel II is that no direct evidence exists of Frederick's patronage of manuscripts or of his patronage of this manuscript in particular with no colophon and no coats of arms.²³ Only two manuscripts have been associated with Jerusalem in the 1220s and 1230s, and these two are not of the same quality or illustrative richness as the Riccardiana Psalter.²⁴ The thirteenth-century crusader capital of Acre may have had a scriptorium, but it does not seem to have had the skill and materials available to create a

manuscript such as the Riccardiana Psalter, which seems to be a unicum in its luxurious nature.²⁵

Alternatively, the Holy Land was not the only region in which a mix of western and eastern iconography and other crusader elements appeared in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.²⁶ Hugo Buchthal attributed the manuscript to a Sicilian-influenced artisan in a Holy Land workshop, and Jaroslav Folda does not dismiss that idea.²⁷ My review of the evidence agrees with a probable Sicilian influence in the production of the manuscript. In particular, Daneu Lattanzi's thesis about the Sicilian localization of the manuscript warrants more investigation, though space here limits a thorough analysis.²⁸ A Sicilian localization does not preclude a special tie to the Holy Land, given how a great flow of people, art, and religious communities moved between southern Italy and the Holy Land because of Emperor Frederick's rule.²⁹ For example, the Augustinian canons of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, like many Latin monasteries in the East, had an establishment in Messina in Sicily from the late twelfth century.³⁰

Sicily and southern Italy also offer pertinent historical and artistic clues to solve this manuscript's puzzle.³¹ Contrary to the uncertain situation in Palestine, scriptoria did exist in Sicily and southern Italy at that time.³² In terms of style, compare the analogous dragon wings on the initial B of the Riccardiana Psalter,³³ the interlace for the initials, and the figure style of the Madrid Sacramentary, localized firmly to Messina in Sicily.³⁴ In the comparison of the Women at the Tomb of the Riccardiana Psalter to the twelfth-century mosaics at the cathedral of Monreale in Sicily, the dramatic, twisting stances of the angels at the tomb are similar.³⁵ In other words, Sicilian artists could have produced the Riccardiana Psalter while working in a Sicilian or south Italian scriptorium.³⁶ The difficult political, commercial, and religious conditions in thirteenth-century Acre reinforce the possibility of the psalter's production in Sicily. Even for a Sicilian artist who had not been to Jerusalem, descriptions of the holy sites could be found in pilgrims' accounts, maps, and souvenirs, and could have informed his illustrations.³⁷ Especially in the twelfth century, pilgrimage texts incorporated *actualia* from sites that rendered the texts rich with details and ripe for borrowing from a visual artist.³⁸ For these reasons, I am considering the possibility that the psalter was made by an artist in Sicily specifically to evoke Jerusalem for its reader.

To widen the approach to this manuscript beyond its crusader connections, it is valuable to follow Buchthal's suggestion that the Riccardiana Psalter was commissioned as a copy of a manuscript from a convent. I go a step further in suggesting that it was made for a nun, likely a noblewoman given the manuscript's luxurious nature.³⁹ Identifying the Riccardiana Psalter's early reader as a nun, and not a queen, seems feasible given the recent analysis by Mentzel-Reuters and Dondi of a possible association to the convent of St. Anne in Acre.⁴⁰ Dondi, who sees the Riccardiana Psalter litany as deriving from Rouen, states that the psalter could have been composed for nuns at St. Anne in Acre; part of its liturgy would have been borrowed from another psalter to account for the inclusion of certain additional saints in the litany and calendar.⁴¹ She argues that the psalter adopted the use (seen in the calendrical feast days)

of the Holy Sepulcher cathedral church of Jerusalem to recall the sacred city through prayers and liturgy devoted to the saints, feasts, and bishops of its past.⁴² She dates the Riccardiana Psalter to circa 1223–25. Mentzel-Reuters agrees with the Benedictine and Palestinian associations of the original house of the manuscript's use because of the liturgical elements in the manuscript's calendar, but instead suggests the possibility of its use at a Cistercian convent of St. Mary Magdalene (a saint also in the psalter's litany) founded in 1223 in Acre from a Tripoli main house.⁴³ He too sees the calendar feasts as an important referent for a nun absent from the holy city of Jerusalem.

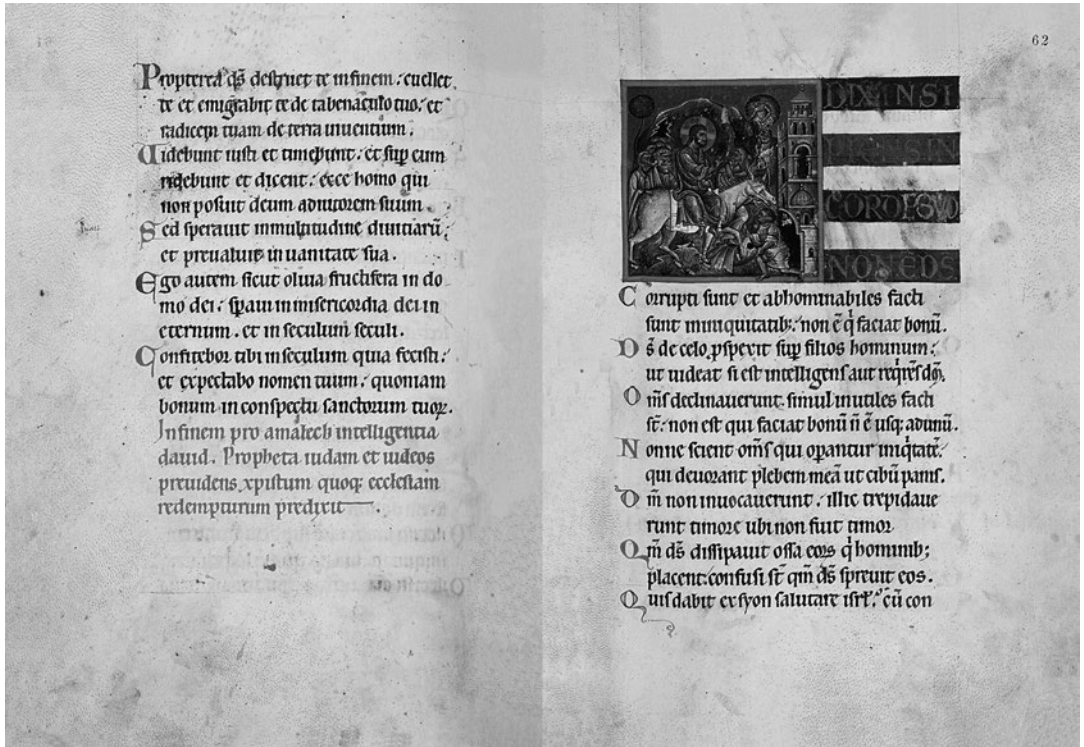
A set of prayers at the end of the psalter are a key support for this assertion of an early monastic use for the psalter. The prayers express concerns particular to a professed monastic woman in a convent community.⁴⁴ Especially the prayers "pro abbatisa," asking for wise guidance for a female convent leader, and "pro conservanda virginitate," requesting the Lord's help for a woman to remain faithful to her vows of chastity, indicate that the early owner was a female monastic.⁴⁵ Mentzel-Reuters does suggest that these prayers are in a slightly different hand from the main part of the text but that the style of the script is still contemporary to the bulk of the manuscript and likely added not long after its creation.⁴⁶

An inscription on the last folio also supports a convent association about 150 years after its creation.⁴⁷ The words are from a nun in a hand from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century: "Suor Margharita dasschorno monacha in sancto silvestro," which confirms that a nun owned and used the manuscript in a convent at some point.⁴⁸ Gigetta delli Regoli clarifies that this Sister Margharita must belong to the Da Scorno family, an influential Pisan family.⁴⁹ The convent of San Silvestro in Pisa did exist, and it was once Benedictine and changed to Dominican in the fourteenth century.⁵⁰ The Dominican connection is confirmed through a number of additions of Dominican feasts in the calendar in a fourteenth-century hand.⁵¹ Though I cannot go into details here, Mentzel-Reuters proposes a complicated path for the psalter that is, importantly, through monastic houses, including its transfer to Italy through a monastery in Barletta dedicated to St. Samuel, which he suggests because of the rare appearance of this saint in the calendar.⁵²

These textual and stylistic issues point not only to the manuscript's crusader connections but also to a proposal of an alternative place of production and original owner of the book. The images will reveal a great deal about the devotional uses of the manuscript as a spiritual guide for a possible female monastic and about the thirteenth-century Levant. A closer look at two of the psalter's images will emphasize characteristics that are important in pondering this manuscript as more than crusader art because they would be relevant to a reader who was a virtual pilgrim.

A Pilgrimage Psalter?

The Riccardiana Psalter's eight scenes of Christ's life mark the eight canonical sections of the psalms for use in the Divine Office—the regular set of prayers



said by monks and nuns at set points throughout their day—and reveal how a virtual pilgrim (and real nun) could have made visual use of this manuscript.⁵³ The Riccardiana Psalter starts with a full-page historiated initial at Psalm One containing the Annunciation to the Virgin, the Nativity, the Annunciation to the Shepherds, and the Washing of the Christ Child woven into the vine and dragon motif of the initial B.⁵⁴ Seven smaller rectangular miniatures at the start of psalms throughout the manuscript include, in order of appearance in the manuscript, the Adoration of the Magi,⁵⁵ the Presentation of the Christ Child,⁵⁶ Christ's Entry into Jerusalem (Figure 8.2),⁵⁷ the Last Supper and Washing of the Apostles' Feet,⁵⁸ the Anastasis and the Women at the Tomb (Figure 8.1),⁵⁹ the Ascension,⁶⁰ and the Pentecost.⁶¹ Because of space limitations, I shall analyze only the Anastasis/Women at the Tomb and Entry into Jerusalem frames in detail, explaining how these scenes' uncommon geographic allusions offered devotional direction, thus enhancing the prayer experience of a would-be traveler to Jerusalem.

The image at Psalm 80 (Figure 8.1) (the sixth of the eight miniatures) reveals intriguing liturgical, architectural, and visual ties to Jerusalem.⁶² This frame illustrates two scenes, one above the other. In the lower half of the psalter image is a representation of the empty tomb of Christ with three women in attendance: Mary Magdalene; Mary, the mother of James; and Salome. They came to the sepulcher after Christ's death to anoint his body as in the text of the Gospel of Mark, the version generally depicted in western iconography

8.2 Christ's Entry into Jerusalem, The Riccardiana Psalter, Riccardiana Library, MS 323, fol. 62r, ca. 1225–35, colors on parchment. Biblioteca Riccardiana.

until the thirteenth century;⁶³ in contrast, the Gospel of Matthew, chosen more often in Byzantine-inspired imagery, notes the presence of two women.⁶⁴ An angel indicates to the women the open tomb and empty funereal shroud while saying: "Be not affrighted. You seek Jesus of Nazareth, who was crucified. He is risen: he is not here. Behold the place where they laid him."⁶⁵ In the Riccardiana Psalter scene, the cloth appears folded in a zigzag pattern in the open-arched tomb doorway. In an unpublished conference paper on a Salerno ivory plaque of the twelfth century, Natalia Teteriatnikov suggests that such an "animated" funereal cloth refers to the "*Quem quaeritis*" or "Whom do you seek?" liturgy.⁶⁶ Clerics conducted this liturgy, commemorating the manner that the angel questions the women about why they had come to the tomb, thereby emphasizing Christ's resurrection through the empty shroud. Iris Shagrir explains how European clerics brought these rituals and liturgies to the Holy Land to express European control over the region.⁶⁷ This Easter celebration, used already from the tenth century in western Europe, was one such ritual transferred with them. A community would act out the scene on the morning of Easter in a popular liturgical drama.⁶⁸ In the drama, cloths would be laid out to emphasize their emptiness, as persons acting as the women would come to the tomb and learn of Christ's resurrection. Teteriatnikov points out that Benedictine monasteries in Europe copied the drama especially.⁶⁹ Shagrir's examination of a breviary at Barletta once used at the Holy Sepulcher, dating before 1187 and perhaps used at the Holy Sepulcher from 1229–44, confirms the Jerusalem liturgical use of the cloths in the tomb door.⁷⁰ The liturgy may well have been known to a woman reader through a viewing of the drama at her own institution in Europe, as it was carried out often before, during, and after the crusade period.

Liturgically and devotionally, this psalter illustration serves an important role in representing the Passion of Christ within this manuscript. It is an allusion to Christ's execution and burial, which is not otherwise represented in a crucifixion or deposition scene. More importantly, it illustrates his bodily resurrection, a key component of the salvation that Christ offers to believers. This reference to this joyous moment in Jerusalem would be a positive one for a reader to imagine in her meditations on the life of Christ as she moved through her prayers.

Beyond this general connection to Christ's resurrection, the illustration offers a specific architectural reference to the medieval Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, which I assert was made for devotional emphasis for its virtual pilgrim. The *Melisende Psalter* provides a relevant comparison of a prior image with a depiction of a different tomb structure type (Figure 8.3).⁷¹ The *Melisende Psalter* was likely produced in Jerusalem around 1135 for Melisende, Queen of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, and therefore is more firmly labeled as a "crusader" manuscript. It has some features similar to the Riccardiana Psalter in its distinct combination of western and eastern iconography though is lacking in some key details.⁷² The *Melisende Psalter* has 24 full-page New Testament scenes at the start of the manuscript, and notably all of the Riccardiana Psalter scenes are found within the longer *Melisende*

cycle.⁷³ The similarities between the Riccardiana and Melisende Psalters seem indicative of a parallel borrowing from Byzantine models, though the differing styles, iconography, and other elements do not reveal a dependent association between these two manuscripts. For example, the Melisende Psalter tomb scene also has three women, yet with the addition of soldiers sleeping as in the Byzantine Gospel of Matthew tradition. The Melisende Psalter and the Riccardiana Psalter also depict the architecture differently. In the former, we see just a floating doorway with no architectural structure behind it, while the Riccardiana Psalter has a distinctive blue-domed structure with an open doorway framing a piece of twisted cloth. Compare the late twelfth-century mosaic at Monreale in Sicily of this scene, with a natural setting more in keeping with the scriptural description of how Joseph of Arimathea placed the dead body of Christ in a tomb cut out of rock.⁷⁴ Instead of following this Sicilian geographical precedent, the Riccardiana Psalter's painter created a special emphasis on the architectural form of the contemporary tomb. I suggest that the form is meant to refer to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem in terms of both the interior aedicule immediately over the tomb, which was renovated by crusaders (1119 and 1140s), and the surrounding rotunda's dome, which was first built in the fourth century, rebuilt by the Byzantines in 1048, and renovated during the twelfth-century crusader era.⁷⁵ A dome on pillars was on top of the tomb aedicule within the Byzantine Anastasis rotunda, according to twelfth-century accounts.⁷⁶ Daniel the Abbot, writing in the early twelfth century, says that the:

Lord's tomb is like a little cave cut into the rock, with small doors so that men can enter stooping on their knees for it is low and round ... This holy cave is faced with beautiful marble ... and there are 12 pillars around it also of beautiful marble. And above the cave is a beautiful chamber on pillars, round at the top and covered with gilded silver plates ...⁷⁷

With details like the small doorway, rounded top, and colorful doorway frames that resemble marble columns, the form hints at this aedicule over the tomb in the crusader era. At the same time, the arched clerestory windows and dome could allude to the rotunda dome far above the tomb aedicule. Such a simultaneous view of combined elements is not uncommon in imagery related to the Latin Kingdom, as Folda points out in relation to the coinage of King Amaury I of circa 1140.⁷⁸ Because the Melisende Psalter's owner could purportedly see the actual Holy Sepulcher, given the open access for Christians to the city in the twelfth century when it was made, perhaps her psalter did not require the tomb to be as detailed in its imagery. As Richard Krautheimer's seminal article on architectural copies argues, more important than the exactitude of a copy's architectural shape is its general, legible allusion to the original.⁷⁹ An allusion to the domed structure of the Holy Sepulcher here would have been apparent to a medieval Christian. This kind of architectural detail in the Riccardiana Psalter is used to invoke the site for the virtual pilgrim and evoke information that she may have heard in pilgrimage texts in order to make her affective visit more compelling.



8.3 Christ's Descent into and Rising from Hell and The Three Women at the Tomb, The Melisende Psalter, British Library, MS Egerton 1139, fol. 9v–10r, ca. 1130s, colors on parchment.
© British Library Board, MS Egerton 1139.

One other detail of the Riccardiana Psalter scene of the three Women at the Tomb suggests an additional allusion to the crusader-era setting of the Holy Sepulcher church. Importantly, one commonality between the Melisende Psalter and Riccardiana Psalter scene (Figures 8.1 and 8.3) is the placement of a screen or grill in the doorway of the tomb. Such a barrier is not fitting with the typical iconography of Mark's biblical text, which says that the women entered the tomb with no mention of any barrier.⁸⁰ The screen as depicted recalls the type of enclosure mentioned in the eleventh-century *Book of Miracles of Sainte Foi* in relation to the medieval reliquary statue of St. Foi in Conques, France. This account describes how the statue was protected from potential thieves behind locked doors, presumably grillwork because she could be seen at the same time by devotees.⁸¹ A similar arrangement seems to have been in place at the medieval tomb of Christ as well. According to a pilgrim, John of Wurzburg, in circa 1170, says:

The arrangement of the monument containing the sepulcher of the Lord is that it is almost round in shape, and is decorated inside with mosaic. On the east there is an entry through small doors, and the square place before the tomb is a porch with two gates.⁸²

Daniel the Abbot reveals more detail, stating that “There are three doors in the chamber, cunningly fashioned like a grille, and through these doors come the people to the tomb of the Lord.”⁸³ Other examples exist in Jerusalem of monuments being protected from pilgrims by screens. Still extant is elaborate grillwork, now at the Islamic Museum on al-Haram al-Sharif in Jerusalem, which was put around the rock at the center of the Dome of the Rock structure to guard it from pilgrims in the twelfth century.⁸⁴ The Riccardiana Psalter scene thus seems to elide the biblical account about the shroud and open tomb with the pilgrim experience of seeing the surrounding rotunda dome and the aedicule protected with a grill gate. The Riccardiana Psalter’s reader, perhaps familiar with descriptions of the city, the rotunda building, the tomb aedicule, and the grillwork doors at the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, would have used such details in these images to conjure up the locale in her imagination.

Iconographic allusions to the real architecture and setting of Jerusalem continue in the Riccardiana Psalter scene in the same frame above the Women at the Tomb: the Anastasis, or Christ’s Descent into and Rising from Hell (Figure 8.1). Christ is in the center, looking backward and grasping Adam’s arm. Eve is also to the left, though damaged, and David, Solomon, and John the Baptist are to the right.⁸⁵ As in the similar Melisende Psalter scene (Figure 8.3), the feet of Christ trample the metal gates and chains that held the righteous in hell, shown in minute pieces at his feet spilling over into the lower register of the image.⁸⁶ This same scene once adorned the interior of the first domed structure over the tomb of Christ in Jerusalem, before it was destroyed and rebuilt in the eleventh century. The domed building was logically called the Anastasis Rotunda in pilgrimage accounts from its early Christian inception into the late Middle Ages, including when the term referred to the rebuilt rotunda without the decoration. The crusaders reinforced this association within other parts of the Holy Sepulcher complex. According to the pilgrim John of Wurzburg, the twelfth-century reconstructed crusader church adjoining the rotunda had an altar dedicated to the Anastasis, with an apse mosaic of the Anastasis scene above.⁸⁷ As Folda indicates with regard to the Melisende Psalter, the inclusion of the bust-length angels flanking Christ is rare in Byzantine art and “appears to reflect the apse mosaic in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre ... [evoking] for the reader the *loca sancta* iconography of the Holy Sepulchre.”⁸⁸ Thus not only the architecture of the Holy Sepulcher’s rotunda and its aedicule is copied in the bottom half of this frame in the Riccardiana Psalter, but also its adjoining church apse decoration is imitated in the top half of the frame. With these specific and yet uncommon elements, the two-part image references the actual state of the most holy Christian site in Jerusalem—the rotunda and Church of the Holy Sepulcher that commemorates the last moments of Christ’s death and his resurrection. As such this frame would be a suggestive tool for the reader to facilitate a fusion of the events of Christ’s life with the monument commemorating them and to magnify her mental engagement by bringing the sites vividly to her mind.

The frame that precedes the Anastasis and Women at the Tomb contains the Entry of Christ into Jerusalem (the fourth of the eight main miniatures) and provides more visual connections to the medieval city of Jerusalem and the architectural form of the Holy Sepulcher church (Figure 8.2). The Entry appears before the colorful beginning words of Psalm 52.⁸⁹ Deriving from all four Gospels,⁹⁰ this scene shows Christ riding on the donkey sidesaddle, facing outward to the viewer. Behind him and the animal to the left are a group of apostles. Still another apostle to the right of Christ holds the animal's lead. A boy lays a cloak down on the ground, to the right in front of the animal's feet. In a spindly tree in the middle right background, there are two boys who climb to get a better view of Christ. Behind Christ looms a mountain, framing him and the donkey. To the right is an abbreviated view of Jerusalem with two buildings visible: in the foreground, the Anastasis Rotunda, and in the rear, the bell tower of the adjoining Holy Sepulcher church.⁹¹

A comparison of the Riccardiana Psalter image to a typical Entry into Jerusalem scene such as in the Melisende Psalter demonstrates how choices were made in the former to represent the holy city as it appeared to a medieval pilgrim (Figure 8.2).⁹² In the Melisende Psalter, some features appear in common with the Riccardiana Psalter (Figure 8.4). Christ is sidesaddle and blesses with his right hand. A group of disciples is to the left, and two boys climb a tree. Yet many more figures come out of the city gate to meet Christ in the Melisende Psalter. It is typical for the gate to be represented as a distinct form to emphasize the triumphal nature of his entry as in the Melisende Psalter, perhaps a feature more important for a queenly reader.⁹³ Instead, the Riccardiana miniature dedicates that picture space to the city's most holy architecture, only hinting at the idea of a gate through a half-arched, darkened opening. By depicting such a simple gate, the Riccardiana miniature allows for more space in the small frame to depict the domed building in the foreground. This building has similarities to the Anastasis rotunda with its blue dome and arched windows in the top level, as found in the Women at the Tomb scene of the Riccardiana Psalter. In addition, an especially important architectural reference to the Holy Sepulcher church seems to be made in the tower form towards the rear of the Riccardiana Psalter cityscape (Figure 8.2). The crusaders built the church's tower (Figure 8.5) on the south side of their mid-twelfth-century church.⁹⁴ Referring to fourteenth- and fifteenth-century representations of the campanile, Folda identifies some features of the structure:

It was two stories high at its base, comparable in height to the (church) façade, and instead of a single story above the base with paired arched fenestration as it has now, there were three stories. The first two stories were bonded to the wall of the façade of the church, but all upper stories were freestanding. The tower was capped with ... an octagonal cupola ...⁹⁵

In other words, the tower had five stories and a polygonal roof, as hinted at here in the angled view in the Riccardiana Psalter. Moreover, the synoptic gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke all mention that Jesus approached the



8.4 Christ's Entry into Jerusalem, The Melisende Psalter, British Library, MS Egerton 1139, fol. 5v, ca. 1130s, colors on parchment. © British Library Board, MS Egerton 1139.



8.5 South Portal and Tower of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, mid-twelfth century.
Courtesy of Cathleen A. Fleck, 2010.

city from the Mount of Olives. This mountain is a prominent presence in the Riccardiana Psalter scene, framing Christ and making a clear visual allusion to the landscape around Jerusalem. Such specific details in the Riccardiana Psalter scenes refer to the actual state of the sites in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in ways that were pertinent to making the thirteenth-century viewer of the manuscript conjure up the holy city, a process which I suggest could augment her imaginative devotions.

The Function of the Images and the Manuscript: A Pilgrimage Guide?

How did these recognizable references to the holy sites of Jerusalem perform their function *within* the psalter as well as define a function *for* this psalter as a guide for a spiritual journey? The Old Testament psalms reinforced God's role as provider and judge and the coming of a future Savior. The images and added prayers affirmed that Christ the Savior had arrived, once walked the earth in Jerusalem, suffered, and then rose up into heaven for the redemption of believers. To a medieval Christian using the Riccardiana Psalter, its illustrations offered visual testimony of salvation history for Christians, reinforced by the repetitive words of the Old Testament psalms and the liturgy.

Psalters like the Riccardiana Psalter allowed a nun a personalized access to the psalms, which are the basis of the Divine Office, or the main monastic liturgy. Because of the psalter's Christianization, it was the most popular Christian prayerbook of the Middle Ages until the Book of Hours developed in the late thirteenth century.⁹⁶ Though this prayerbook is mainly comprised of Old Testament psalms, each starting with small initials of Old Testament figures at the start of many psalms,⁹⁷ its Christological focus is unmistakable in the addition of some Christian figures in initials⁹⁸ and in the Latin *tituli* that lend a Christ-centered theme to each of the psalms.⁹⁹ For instance, each Psalm begins with a rubric with statements such as "In hoc psalme vox apostolorum"¹⁰⁰ or "Vox Ecclesiae."¹⁰¹ Such words directed the reader to consider these prayers in the voices of members of Church history, deriving them as Christian prayer in relation to their Hebrew Bible origins. This approach was aided by the variable nature of psalms, from joyful exclamations of God's power to laments over sorrowful events that were often in the first person. Their literary flexibility and personal direction allowed a reader to contemplate and apply their meanings to her devotions and her life in numerous ways. The psalter's scenes of the life of Christ could lead the female reader to recall her Savior's existence as prophesied in the Old Testament, while the psalms provoked a deeper, allegorical understanding of God's actions, of his redemption of mankind through Christ, and of salvation history from the times of King David through his descendant Christ—to the medieval nun.¹⁰²

The images in the Riccardiana Psalter emphasize the book's liturgical use because they mark the eight divisions of the psalms for the Divine Office,

signaling to the reader which set of psalms should be read in the morning or evening on certain days of the week.¹⁰³ The incessant repetition of the psalms in daily prayers allowed even semi-literate women to follow along, recite, and read the text. In the Riccardiana Psalter, the images allowed the Christian reader to map her devotions through sites of Christ's life around the city of Jerusalem while reading the psalms and their rubrics at set times during the day and week as a part of liturgical practice.

The performative nature of liturgy, defined in a broad sense as a formal set of acts prescribed by ritual, allowed the virtual pilgrim of the Riccardiana Psalter to bring to mind—as well as to act out using body, mouth, and ear—the living and contemporary presence of the Scriptures.¹⁰⁴ This sort of visual, liturgical, textual, and corporeal engagement offered a sensory piety that mirrored medieval Christian pilgrimage, of which a key element was the enactment of specific rituals and readings at holy places or monuments.¹⁰⁵ Egeria, a fourth-century pilgrim, is indicative of the movement from early on towards seeing the sites related to biblical personages and hearing prayers while there. The account of Egeria's travels to the burning bush site reads: "... it was too late for us to be able to make the offering, but we had a prayer in the church and also in the garden by the Bush, and as usual the appropriate passage was read from the book of Moses."¹⁰⁶ Egeria's interest was in seeing the spot and participating in rituals and scriptural readings at the location of the biblical event.¹⁰⁷ The use of the Riccardiana psalter was a fitting choice to re-enact pilgrimage, as Egeria's example shows that biblical texts had long been taken on pilgrimage to use as prayerbooks and as guides to the locations where the biblical events took place. The visual richness, personal direction, and geographical allusions in the Riccardiana Psalter and its images suggest that its owner, far from Jerusalem, could pray with this manuscript before her to visit the sites in her mind's eye when the sites were not accessible to her.

To argue that an early thirteenth-century reader visited the Holy Land in her imagination through the inspiration of art is to propose the idea of affective piety at an earlier date than has been much studied in art history.¹⁰⁸ Daniel Connolly indicates such imaginative pilgrimages in his discussions of Matthew of Paris, though in a different context of mid-thirteenth-century maps leading male monastic readers from Jerusalem to England.¹⁰⁹ Focusing on fifteenth-century northern European convent sources, Kathryn Rudy also examines the issue of virtual pilgrimage. In her examples, devotees distant from Jerusalem specifically sought out a mental—though action-filled—spiritual experience, visiting the places of Jesus's pain and triumph in their imaginations as a way to appreciate his sacrifice and, importantly, to gain redemption in what was seen as a replacement for the true pilgrimage to the Holy Land.¹¹⁰ Though Rudy's focus is later, she brings up key issues pertinent also in the thirteenth century. Significantly, lay or monastic women in any pre-modern period had less access than men to the options to travel; soon after 1187, such a trip was even more risky for European women given the instability of Latin control of a few coastal cities like Acre and the skirmishes and tensions caused by the Muslim and Latin presence in the region.¹¹¹ Instead, female devotees used

written and aural materials to enhance their knowledge and understanding of these sites in the Holy Land, to enrich their imagined experiences, and to add legitimacy to their devotional practices when they could not travel for pilgrimage.¹¹² As Rudy points out, one reason especially for women's desire to consider these pilgrimage sites was to feel an empathetic closeness with Christ by understanding his suffering, including imagining where he endured his sorrowful experiences.¹¹³ Indeed Sarah McNamer emphasizes that emotions had an important role in medieval devotions by developing a feeling of compassion for Christ and his pain through a focus on his life. Her approach allows a reading of medieval "Christian compassion as a historically contingent, ideologically charged, and performatively constituted emotion—and one that was, in the broad period considered [by her, circa 1050–1530], insistently gendered as feminine."¹¹⁴ Thus the kind of multimedia approach to devotions proposed here for a female reader of the Riccardiana Psalter is plausible and was perhaps essential in the early thirteenth century.¹¹⁵

This prayerbook's proposed female reader could use the beautiful miniatures to promote a virtual experience, especially because the scenes within this manuscript offered visual clues that matched up more with the detailed twelfth-century pilgrimage accounts than to later, vaguer thirteenth-century accounts.¹¹⁶ An attention to empathy and redemption is in keeping with what twelfth-century writers recounting their travels to the Holy Land hoped would result from the reading of their texts. As the pilgrim Theodoric wrote circa 1170–74, he wished for his words to serve as a guide to the:

... places in which our Saviour revealed his corporeal presence, and did the ministry and the mysteries of his excellent humanity and our own redemption ... to satisfy by stating as much as we can the wishes of those who cannot personally follow us there, and cannot reach the Places with their eyes or hear them with their ears.¹¹⁷

Importantly, the details and aim of such twelfth-century accounts would have been useful in providing relevant background to the Riccardiana Psalter's reader. The account of the pilgrim John of Wurzburg (circa 1174) is an important source about the new crusader addition to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. He mentions its main altar dedicated to the Anastasis and a mosaic above showing Christ taking Adam by the hand with the gates of hell broken.¹¹⁸ Theodoric also wrote in detail of the tomb, commenting on the white Parian marble of the actual sepulcher as well as the three holes on its side through which the pilgrims gave kisses to the stones on which the Lord lay.¹¹⁹

Compared to Theodoric's and John of Wurzburg's twelfth-century texts, the two main early thirteenth-century sources on Jerusalem and its appearance, namely Wilbrand of Oldenburg and Master Thietmar, are greatly lacking in their detail of these monuments.¹²⁰ Writing in the second decade of the thirteenth century when they had little access to Jerusalem, these two described hurried visits and gave only abbreviated descriptions of the Holy Sepulcher church and Anastasis Rotunda. Alternatively, they were able to

visit and describe many other sites outside the city walls such as those on Mount Sion and on the Mount of Olives.¹²¹ In the case of Jacques de Vitry, a Frenchman and bishop of Acre (1216–26), the lack of detail in discussion of the holy city's sites perhaps means that he never visited Jerusalem, even though his sermons were circulated to rouse crusaders to come there.¹²² Folda emphasizes that relative inaccessibility to Christian monuments was a problem for Christian pilgrims to the Holy Land after 1187, when Latin clergy had no control over the administration of the Holy Sepulcher—as per the Muslim leaders' requirements.¹²³ Christians could only visit that most important Christian church within the city walls for apparently brief visits. Hence, little knowledge of the thirteenth-century state of the holy city would be available to anyone in Europe, leading writers, as well as their readers, to rely instead on more descriptive pre-1187 texts to understand the city.¹²⁴

The lack of Christian access to holy Jerusalem post 1187 perhaps engendered a need to access the city's holy sites in alternative ways, including through such means as the Riccardiana Psalter and its rich images. The liturgy of the Riccardiana Psalter with its eight well-placed miniatures of Christ's life offered one way to connect with the holy city. Scriptures, earlier pilgrimage accounts, and the popular saints' lives in circulation would enhance the virtual pilgrim's knowledge, experience, and devotion still more.¹²⁵ Later European devotional guides in the vernacular used previous accounts and prayers, such as Master Thietmar's text *Iter ad terram sanctam* (circa 1217), to guide a reader mentally through the Holy Land sites in explicit written pilgrimages.¹²⁶ Rudy notes how the popularity of Master Thietmar's text is indicated by the fact that 13 translated copies in German and Dutch were used by later canonesses. Also Dominican and Franciscan examples of descriptive texts, albeit from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, were borrowed and translated as sources for devotional texts meant for female audiences. Devout women in the thirteenth century may have had another motivation to pray and learn about Christ's life through virtual pilgrimage. After 1215 and the Lateran Council, civilians who acted out certain Holy Land experiences were able to gain plenary indulgences that once only crusaders could obtain.¹²⁷ Not only the size of the indulgences and the number of places where a pilgrim could get them grew over time, but, significantly, also the number of substitute activities that she could carry out increased. Though no documents could be found to confirm this possibility for the Riccardiana Psalter, perhaps reading this psalter was a type of substitute activity.

The loss of Jerusalem, either through the failed crusades or because the Riccardiana Psalter's female reader could never get there, demands the questioning of what such specific images in a prayerbook could have meant for a reader's religious experience. This chapter asserts that perhaps more important than the psalter's "crusader" designation is its pilgrimage association.¹²⁸ A prayerbook with such evocative illuminations and texts enriched by the repetition of liturgy could have acted as a replacement for a visit to the holy city, a virtual sojourn to the locales of Christ's life, death, and resurrection, providing her joy in her devotions and, hopefully, redemption.

Notes

- 1 Funding for photographs, research, and travel related to preparing and delivering this paper (in July 2012 at the International Medieval Congress at Leeds) was generously provided by the Summer Research in the Humanities Grant and the Mellon Faculty Development Grant, both of Saint Louis University. I would like to thank the organizers of the sessions about Crusades and Visual Culture as well for bringing together at the conference and in this volume these various approaches to the topic of visual culture during the crusading era.
- 2 175 folios, measuring only about 22 × 16.5 cm (8.7 × 6.5 inches). On the texts, see Cathleen A. Fleck, "The Luxury Riccardiana Psalter in the Thirteenth Century: A Nun's Prayerbook?," *Viator* 46, no. 1 (2015): 135–60, esp. 148–152. For the most recent general scholarship, see Cristina Dondi, *The Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem: A Study and a Catalogue of the Manuscript Sources*, vol. 16, *Biblioteca Victorina* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 83–6 and 212–15 and Franco Cardini and Giovanna Lazzi, *Il Libro dei Salmi di Federico II—Facsimile and Commentario*, 2 vols (Florence: Vallecchi, 2006). See also Giovanna Lazzi, "L'Oro e la croce," *Alumina* 5, no. 19 (2007): pp. 16–21; Maria Luisa Scuricini Greco, *Miniature Riccardiane*, (ed.) Marino Parenti (Florence, 1958), pp. 80–81; Giovanni Muzzioli (ed.), *Mostra storica nazionale della miniatura* (Florence: Sansoni Antiquariato, 1954), no. 156; Angela Daneu Lattanzi, "Ancora sulla scuola miniaturistica dell'Italia meridionale sveva," *La Bibliofilia* 66 (1964): pp. 129–32; Hugo Buchthal, *Miniature painting in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. With liturgical and palaeographical chapters by Francis Wormald* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), pp. 39–46, 143–4; Jaroslav Folda, "Crusader Painting in the 13th century: The State of the Question," in *Il medio oriente e l'occidente nell'arte del XIII secolo*, (ed.) Hans Belting (Bologna: CLUEB Editrice Bologna, 1982), pp. 107–8; Sandra Manetti, "Biblioteche Riccardiana e Moreniana in Palazzo Medici Riccardi," (ed.) Palazzo Medici Riccardi (Prato: Nardini Editore, 1998), pp. 59–60; Gigetta dalli Regoli, "Il Salterio di San Giovanni d'Acrida della Riccardiana di Firenze," in *Federico II. Immagine e potere*, (ed.) Maria Stella Calò Mariani and Raffaella Cassano (Venice: Marsilio Editori, 1995), pp. 441–5.
- 3 See Jaroslav Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land 1098–1187* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 217.
- 4 See *ibid.*, pp. 212–16.
- 5 Jonathan Phillips, "The Latin East, 1098–1291," in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, (ed.) Jonathan Riley-Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 134–6. See also David Jacoby, "The Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Collapse of Hohenstaufen Power in the Levant," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 40 (1986): p. 83.
- 6 Buchthal, *Miniature painting*, pp. 39–46, 143.
- 7 In addition, the majority of the paleography of the manuscript also places it in the second quarter of the thirteenth century (Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, From the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 212–17). See also Francis Wormald, "Appendix: Liturgical and palaeographical chapters," in *Miniature painting in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem*, (ed.) Hugo Buchthal (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957), p. 137. Compare Arno Mentzel-Reuters, "Zum so genannten 'Psalter Friedrichs II.'" (Florenz, Bibl. Riccardiana Ms. 323), *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 65 (2009): pp. 119, 121, 133–4.
- 8 Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Art* (Aldershot: Lund Humphries, 2008), pp. 13–15.
- 9 It reads "DEDICATIO ECCLESIE SANCTI SEPULCHRI ET FESTIVITAS IERUSALEM QUANDO CAPTA FUIT A CHRISTIANIS" (Wormald, "Appendix," p. 107).
- 10 These bishops include: Mathias, January 30; Symeon, bishop of Jerusalem, February 18; quadraginta [40] martires, March 11; Alexander, March 18; and Marcus, October 22. Other feasts connected to the Holy Land in the Riccardiana Psalter: Transfiguration, August 6; Cleophas, September 25; Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, October 6; Sabas, December 5; and Lazarus, December 17 (Wormald, "Appendix," p. 107). Apart from these bishops, the other peculiarity of the Riccardiana Psalter is its listing of saints associated with northern Italy (Buchthal, *Miniature painting*, p. 108).
- 11 Dondi, *The Liturgy of the Canons Regular*, p. 46 and Mentzel-Reuters, "Zum so genannten 'Psalter Friedrichs II,'" pp. 119–21.
- 12 Folda, *Crusader Art*, pp. 13–15.
- 13 Folio 90v. Compare Pavle Marjanovic, "Anastasis, Chora Church, Istanbul, Deposit photos, #3030769." Available at: <http://depositphotos.com/3030769/stock-photo-The-Anastasis-Descent-into-Hell.html> [accessed August 2, 2012].
- 14 Buchthal identifies the litany of saints as the primary connection to the convent of St. Anne and to a woman owner. He notes that Benedict is at the head of the confessor saints (no. 68). St. Anne has

third place among women saints (no. 95), after Mary Magdalene and Mary of Egypt. The litany does not have a Palestinian character, with no Jerusalem bishops mentioned. Moreover it has a predominance of saints venerated in north France, rather to the northwest (explained as perhaps coming from the same source litany at St. Anne's). Plus there are two English royal martyrs, Eadmund (no. 61) and Edward (no. 62); Buchthal, *Miniature painting*, pp. 129–30.

- 15 Ibid., pp. 40–41.
- 16 Ibid., p. 41.
- 17 See *ibid.*, p. 130.
- 18 Folda, *Crusader Art 1187–1291*, pp. 214, 610 n. 572.
- 19 When his wife died in 1228 at the birth of their son Conrad while in southern Italy, he took over as king-regnant, though he had only the right to be regent for the child. He left soon after for the Levant (Steven Runciman, *The Families of Outremer* (London: Athlone Press, 1960), p. 12 n. 2.
- 20 Ibid., p. 214; Dondi, *The Liturgy of the Canons Regular*, pp. 83–4; and Mentzel-Reuters, “Zum so genannten ‘Psalter Friedrichs II,’” p. 117.
- 21 Isabel was crowned Queen of Jerusalem in the Cathedral of Tyre, which took the place of the Holy Sepulcher for crowning monarchs of Jerusalem post 1187. After this she traveled on to Sicily, where she died soon after giving birth to her son Conrad in 1228. Her father John (Jean) de Brienne (d. 1237) married Marie de Montferrat in 1210 (d. 1212) and served as Isabel's regent until he passed on the crown of Jerusalem to her new husband right after their wedding (Folda, *Crusader Art 1187–1291*, pp. 23–214).
- 22 On why Frederick may not have been the patron, see Folda, *Crusader Art 1187–1291*, p. 217. Mentzel-Reuters also points out many inconsistencies with the idea of Frederick being involved with the creation of the psalter, Mentzel-Reuters, “Zum so genannten ‘Psalter Friedrichs II,’” pp. 111–36.
- 23 See Folda, *Crusader Art 1187–1291*, p. 217.
- 24 Egerton Sacramentary (British Library, London, MS Egerton 2902) and Pontifical of Apamea (British Library, London, MS Add. 57528). See Buchthal, *Miniature painting*, pp. 46–7 and Folda, *Crusader Art 1187–1291*, pp. 210–11, 17.
- 25 See Folda, *Crusader Art 1187–1291*, pp. 157, 210, 217. Dondi points to Acre as the place of production, though I am not convinced by her argument (Dondi, *The Liturgy of the Canons Regular*, pp. 70, 83–5).
- 26 See also Valentino Pace, “Un'ipotesi per la storia della produzione libraria italo-meridionale: La bibbia ‘bizantina’ di San Daniele del Friuli” in *La Miniatura Italiana in Età Romanica e Gotica*, (ed.) Grazia Vailati Schoenburg Waldenburg (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1980), pp. 131–57.
- 27 Buchthal, *Miniature painting*, pp. 45–6. Compare Folda, “Crusader Painting,” pp. 107–8 to Folda, *Art of the Crusaders 1098–1187*, pp. 216–17. Regarding Folda on my work, see *ibid.*, p. 610, n. 572.
- 28 See Angela Daneu Lattanzi, *Lineamenti di storia della miniatura in sicilia*, Storia della Miniatura: Studi e documenti (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1966), pp. 47–8 and Daneu Lattanzi, “Ancora sulla scuola miniaturistica,” pp. 131–2.
- 29 Folda, *Art of the Crusaders 1098–1187*, p. 216.
- 30 Rebecca Corrie, “The Conradin Bible: East Meets West at Messina,” in *Meeting of Two Worlds*, (ed.) Vladimir P. Goss and Christine Verzar Bornstein (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1986), p. 301. Seeing as the city of Jerusalem was taken over by the Muslims and the Christians left the city, one would imagine that the Messina center gained greater importance after 1187. The extant evidence of the canons of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher is relatively scant in Sicily; see Lynn Townsend White, *Latin Monasticism in Norman Sicily* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1938), p. 229.
- 31 See Buchthal, *Miniature painting*, p. 46. Folda mentions the other scholarship as well regarding its Italian connections by scholars such as Valentino Pace and Angela Daneu Lattanzi (Folda, *Crusader Art 1187–1291*, p. 216).
- 32 See Hugo Buchthal, *A School of Miniature Painting in Norman Sicily* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955), pp. 318–39 and Daneu Lattanzi, *Lineamenti di storia*, pp. 15–61.
- 33 Folio 15v. See Fleck, “The Luxury Riccardiana Psalter,” pp. 139–40.
- 34 Biblioteca nacional, Madrid, MS 52, folio 76r. See Fleck, “The Luxury Riccardiana Psalter,” pp. 139–40. See also Daneu Lattanzi, *Lineamenti di storia*, pp. 44–5.
- 35 See *ibid.*, p. 44.

- 36 As to the question of scriptoria existing in Sicily and southern Italy at the time, Angela Daneu Lattanzi believes that there must have been a scriptorium in Palermo associated with Frederick's court and the school of poetry there ("Ancora sulla scuola miniaturistica," p. 132). The oldest known manuscript of Sicily is *Exposition orationes dominicae* of Grande Ammiraglio Maione da Bari (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, nouv. acq., MS lat. 1772), done in Palermo before 1160. An intermediate phase of Sicilian-style miniatures can be seen in the production in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in Rome (Biblioteca Angelica, Rome, Sacramentary, D.7.3 and Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Missal, MS lat. 12056), see Danneu Lattanzi, *Lineamenti di storia*, pp. 22–3. See also Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in Norman Sicily*, pp. 140–41). In Messina a scriptorium flourished under William II at the same time as the erection of the Basilica of Monreale and during the time when Richard Palmer was archbishop (1182–95). The manuscripts attributed to Messina include the Madrid manuscript and Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence, MS 227 (Daneu Lattanzi, *Lineamenti di storia*, p. 27 and Alessandra Acconci, "Indagine su alcuni affreschi medievali presso la catacomba di S. Sebastiano sull'Appia: ricerche sul cosiddetto oratorio di Onorio III ad catacumbas," *Arte Medievale* 12/13 (1998/99): pp. 98–9. See also Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in Norman Sicily*, 312ff). Messina seems like a place for a possible source. Rebecca Corrie suggests that even for the Conradin Bible of the late 1260s (Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, MS W152), the "great monastic libraries of Messina could have provided the models used for the 'Conradin Bible'" (Corrie, "The Conradin Bible," p. 300). Thus there would perhaps have been a skilled scriptorium present there in the 1230s too. Corrie points out that Messina was an important port in East–West trade and relations and that the English royal family passed through the port often circa 1200.
- 37 For example, the description of Daniel the Abbot of the Dome of the Rock from 1106–08, see Daniel H. Weiss, "'Hic est domus domini firmiter edificata': The Image of the Temple in Crusader Art," *Jewish Art* 23/24 (1997–98): p. 212.
- 38 See Jaroslav Folda, "Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre through the Eyes of Crusader Pilgrims," *Jewish Art* 23/24 (1997–98): p. 158.
- 39 Buchthal, *Miniature painting*, pp. 39–41 and Dondi, *The Liturgy of the Canons Regular*, pp. 83–4. See also Fleck, "The Luxury Riccardiana Psalter," pp. 135–60.
- 40 Buchthal, *Miniature painting*, p. 40; Mentzel-Reuters, "Zum so genannten 'Psalter Friedrichs II,'" pp. 117, 21–2, 25–9 and Dondi, *The Liturgy of the Canons Regular*.
- 41 Dondi, *The Liturgy of the Canons Regular*, pp. 83–5.
- 42 See *ibid.*, pp. 83–5, 212–15 and Mentzel-Reuters, "Zum so genannten 'Psalter Friedrichs II,'" pp. 117–18. This liturgical practice was adopted by Latin Christians after they settled in Jerusalem after the First Crusade (Dondi, *The Liturgy of the Canons Regular*, p. 44).
- 43 Mentzel-Reuters, "Zum so genannten 'Psalter Friedrichs II,'" pp. 126–7.
- 44 See Folda, *Crusader Art 1187–1291*, p. 212.
- 45 Folio 174r. See Fleck, "The Luxury Riccardiana Psalter," pp. 150–51. See also Dondi, *The Liturgy of the Canons Regular*, p. 214 and Buchthal, *Miniature painting*, p. 40.
- 46 Mentzel-Reuters, "Zum so genannten 'Psalter Friedrichs II,'" pp. 121, 134. Alternatively, he suggests that a cleric was its owner at some point too, given the addition of another prayer for a priest on folios 12v–13r. See also Fleck, "The Luxury Riccardiana Psalter," p. 151.
- 47 Folio 175v. See Cathleen A. Fleck, "'Vergine Madre Pia': Text and Image in a Medieval Psalter at a Renaissance Dominican Convent," *Source: Notes in the History of Art* XXXIV, no. 2 (2015): pp. 5–13.
- 48 Regoli, "Salterio di San Giovanni," p. 441.
- 49 *Ibid.*
- 50 A. Curuni, "Le chiese romaniche in Pisa e dintorni," *Rassegna. Periodico culturale e di informazioni*, 1–2 (1970): pp. 36–8 and Franco Paliaga and Stefano Renzoni, *Le chiese di Pisa: Guida alla conoscenza del patrimonio artistico* (Pisa: ETS Editrice, 1991), pp. 56–9.
- 51 Dondi, *The Liturgy of the Canons Regular*, p. 212.
- 52 Mentzel-Reuters, "Zum so genannten 'Psalter Friedrichs II,'" pp. 130–35. Compare Dondi, *The Liturgy of the Canons Regular*, p. 85.
- 53 This image configuration is uncommon for psalters, as full-page images of Christ's Passion or of the psalms' purported author, King David, usually precede the text or appear as full-page images at the eight divisions, marking the beginning of Matins of Sunday (Psalms 1–25), the Matins of the six Feria (Psalms 26–37, 38–51, 52–67, 68–79, 80–96, 97–108), and lastly the Vespers of Sunday and the Feria (Psalms 109–150). See Fleck, "The Luxury Riccardiana Psalter," pp. 137–8. See also Suzy Dufrenne, *Les Illustrations du Psautier d'Utrecht: Sources et apport carolingien* (Paris: Edition Orprys, 1978), p. 27. According to Haseloff, the images do not refer to the text of the psalms but are only coincidental with the liturgical divisions (Arthur Haseloff, *Eine Thüringische-Sächsische*

Malerschule des 13. Jahrhunderts (Strassburg: Heitz, 1897), p. 37). Büchler disagrees and claims that lay devotional texts influence their placement, stating that the placement of the crucifixion at Psalm 68 was the keypoint. This would thus not apply to the Riccardiana Psalter which does not contain the crucifixion, and its closest reference thereto, the Anastasis, is at Psalm 80 (see Alfred Büchler, "Zu den Psalmillustrationen der Haseloff-Schule: Die Vita Christi-Gruppe," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 52(1989): p. 216).

- 54 Psalm 1, folio 15v. See Fleck, "The Luxury Riccardiana Psalter," pp. 138–41.
- 55 Psalm 26, folio 36r. See Fleck, "The Luxury Riccardiana Psalter," pp. 141–2.
- 56 Psalm 38, folio 49v. See Fleck, "The Luxury Riccardiana Psalter," pp. 142–4.
- 57 Psalm 52, folio 62r.
- 58 Psalm 68, folio 75r. See Fleck, "The Luxury Riccardiana Psalter," pp. 144–6.
- 59 Psalm 80, folio 90v.
- 60 Psalm 97, folio 105v.
- 61 Psalm 109, folio 121v. For all of these psalter illustrations, see Buchthal, *Miniature painting*, Plate 52a–c, Plate 53a–b, and Plate 54a.
- 62 Folio 90v. The text begins: "Exultate Deo adiutori nostro iubilare Deo Jacob" or "Rejoice to God our helper: sing aloud to the God of Jacob." See St. Jerome, "Psalm 80," in *The Douay-Rheims Bible: The Latin Vulgate Bible*, edited by vulgate.org (2011). Available at: http://vulgate.org/ot/psalms_80.htm [accessed October 3, 2013]. See also St. Jerome, "Psalm 80," in *Vulgate*, (ed.) Perseus Collection and Bible Foundation and On-Line Book Initiative (Boston, 2013). Available at: <http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0527.tlg027.perseus-lat1:80.2> [accessed October 3, 2013].
- 63 Mark 16:1–8. On these women's identity, see Iris Shagrir, "The 'Visitatio Sepulchri' in the Latin Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem," *Al-Masaq: Islam & the Medieval Mediterranean*, 22, no. 1 (2010): p. 62 n. 18.
- 64 Matthew 28:1–8. See Otto Pächt and Dagmar Thoss, *Die Illuminirte Handschriften und Inkunabeln des Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. Französischen Schule* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1974), pp. 71, 72 regarding these Byzantine and western types. See also Jaroslav Folda, "Queen Melisende's Psalter," in *The Glory of Byzantium. Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era A.D. 843–1261*, (ed.) Helen C. Evans and William D. Wixom (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), pp. 392–94 and George Henderson Crichton, *Romanesque Sculpture in Italy* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1954), p. 100.
- 65 Mark 16:6 (St. Jerome, "Mark 16," in *The Douay-Rheims Bible: The Latin Vulgate Bible*, edited by vulgate.org (2011). Available at: http://vulgate.org/nt/gospel/mark_16.htm [accessed October 3, 2013].
- 66 Natalia Teteriatnikov, "When Art and Ritual Clashed: The Case of the Salerno Plaque with the Women at the Tomb" (presentation, *The Tusk and the Book: The Salerno/Amalfi Ivories in their Mediterranean Contexts*, Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz and Max Planck Institut, Florence, Italy, June 29–July 1, 2012, <http://arthist.net/archive/3412>). For an exceptional reproduction of the ivory, see Robert Bigano, "Miracle of Christ and Three Women at the Tomb, New Testament (37 of 42)," *The medieval ivories enigma, from Amalfi to Salerno Series*. Available at: http://www.bigano.com/gallery/gallery_avori/ssp.swf. [accessed September 1, 2012].
- 67 Shagrir, "The Visitatio Sepulchri," pp. 61, 63.
- 68 Ibid., pp. 66–73.
- 69 Teteriatnikov, "When Art and Ritual Clashed".
- 70 The breviary has been at Santo Sepolcro di Barletta, Apulia, in southern Italy, since after 1291. See Shagrir, "The Visitatio Sepulchri," p. 58.
- 71 British Library, London, MS Egerton 1139, folios 9v, 10r. See Folda, "Queen Melisende's Psalter," pp. 392–4 and idem, *Art of the Crusaders 1098–1187*, pp. 155–6.
- 72 Folda, *Art of the Crusaders 1098–1187*, pp. 137–63. See also Buchthal, *Miniature painting*, p. 5.
- 73 Compare Folda, *Art of the Crusaders 1098–1187*, p. 215.
- 74 Mark 15:45.
- 75 Folda, *Art of the Crusaders 1098–1187*, pp. 177–245.
- 76 Buchthal states that Krautheimer confirmed this suggestion in person (Buchthal, *Miniature painting*, p. 45 n.2). The aedicule was renovated in 1119 (Folda, *Art of the Crusaders 1098–1187*, pp. 79–82, 186, 337).

- 77 Translated in John Wilkinson, Joyce Hill, and W.F. Ryan (eds), *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099–1185* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1988), p. 128. See also Folda, “Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre,” p. 159.
- 78 Folda, *Art of the Crusaders 1098–1187*, pp. 335–7 and idem, *Crusader Art 1187–1291*, p. 215.
- 79 He argued that an architectural form or its representation was a copy of a particular building in the Middle Ages if it 1) recalled the original form, 2) had a symbolic association with its original meaning, and 3) was purposefully linked, Richard Krautheimer, “Introduction to an ‘Iconography of Medieval Architecture,’” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute* 5 (1942): pp. 1–33. This article also appears in *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval and Renaissance Art* (New York, 1969), pp. 115–50).
- 80 Mark 16:5.
- 81 Pamela Sheingorn (ed.), *The Book of Sainte Foy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), pp. 17–18 (1.26 and 1.31).
- 82 Wilkinson, Hill, and Ryan, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, p. 261.
- 83 Ibid., p. 128.
- 84 Folda, *Art of the Crusaders 1098–1187*, pp. 136–7.
- 85 The Anastasis is the demonstration of the “Chalcedonian dogma of the two natures of Christ, i.e., of the inseparability of the two natures, even after Christ’s death on the cross” (Kurt Weitzmann, *Studies in the arts at Sinai: essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), p. 185). The Anastasis is less common in the West and usually occurs as part of a large Passion cycle (Ibid., p. 184). A scene from a mid-eleventh-century liturgical book (Mt Athos, Lavra, Skevophylakion Lectionary) offers a rich example of a Byzantine Anastasis. Both Christ figures in the psalter and the lectionary hold the typical simple wooden cross seen in the East (Ibid.). Though more typically a Byzantine tradition, the Anastasis can be found in European manuscripts of eastern influence, such as in the German Landgrave Psalter of the twelfth century. Nevertheless, the common Saxon representation differs greatly. Christ is to the left, grabbing a bearded Adam by the hand, a young Eve behind. Moreover, the Landgrave Psalter figures, among several others, are nude and being pulled from the exaggerated mouth of a monster. See Haseloff, *Thüringische-Sächsische Malerschule*, Taf. III or Taf. XIX., no. 42.
- 86 See Folda, *Art of the Crusaders 1098–1187*, p. 142, Plate 6.8r. Most Byzantine scenes are like this, as at the Chora Church of the Holy Savior (or the Kariye Camii) in Istanbul (see Marjanovic, “Anastasis, Chora Church, Istanbul”).
- 87 Wilkinson, Hill, and Ryan, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, p. 262. A Byzantine mosaic may have been moved from the rotunda (Folda, *Art of the Crusaders 1098–1187*, p. 230).
- 88 Folda, “Queen Melisende’s Psalter,” p. 393. See also Buchthal, *Miniature painting*, p. 4.
- 89 *Dixit insipiens in corde suo: Non est Deus* (The fool has said in his heart: there is no God); folio 62r.
- 90 Matthew 21:1–11, Mark 11:1–11, Luke 19:28–44, and John 12:12–19.
- 91 Buchthal, *Miniature painting*, p. 45.
- 92 For example, compare an ivory from Berlin with a Byzantine feast cycle composition that would probably also be used in a tenth-century Byzantine lectionary (Kurt Weitzmann, “A Tenth Century Lectionary: A Lost Masterpiece of the Macedonian Renaissance,” in *Byzantine Liturgical Psalters and Gospels* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1980), p. 625, Figure 6).
- 93 Folio 5v. Compare the frescoes by Pietro Lorenzetti, Assisi, Lower Basilica, San Francesco, southern transept, dated to 1320 (see Eugene A., https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Triumphal_entry_into_Jerusalem#/media/File:Assisi-frescoes-entry-into-jerusalem-pietro_lorenzetti.jpg [accessed July 9, 2015]).
- 94 Folda, *Art of the Crusaders 1098–1187*, pp. 243–5.
- 95 Ibid., p. 243.
- 96 See Stella Panayotova, “The Illustrated Psalter: Luxury and Practical Use,” in *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Reception, and Performance in Western Christianity*, (ed.) Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), pp. 250–53 and Roger S. Wieck (ed.), *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life*, 2nd ed. (New York: George Braziller Inc., 2001), pp. 27–8.
- 97 Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, Plate 54, l, b, i, k.
- 98 Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, Plate 53, h, k, l and 54, f, s, p.

- 99 In the Riccardiana Psalter, the rubrics are most like Salmon's Series III (Pierre Salmon, *Les 'Tituli Psalmorum' des manuscrits latins* (Rome: Abbaye Saint Jerome, 1959), pp. 100–13).
- 100 Psalm 2, folio 16r. Translation: "In this psalm, the voice of the apostles."
- 101 Psalm 25, folio 35v. Translation: "The voice of the Church."
- 102 See Panayotova, "The Illustrated Psalter," pp. 250–54.
- 103 See Panayotova, "The Illustrated Psalter," pp. 250–53.
- 104 See Simon Coleman and John Elsner, *Pilgrimage: past and present in the world religions* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), p. 87.
- 105 Robert L. Wilken, "Christian Pilgrimage to the Holy Land," in *City of the great king: Jerusalem from David to the present*, (ed.) Nitza Rosovsky (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), p. 132.
- 106 Egeria, "Peregrinatio Aethiopiae: Itinerarium," *San Salvatore Convento Franciscano*. Available at: <http://www.holysepulchre.custodia.org/default.asp?id=4157> [accessed August 24, 2012].
- 107 Wilken, "Christian Pilgrimage," pp. 128, 132.
- 108 For this trend in art, compare Jeffrey Hamburger, "The Visual and the Visionary: The Image in Late Medieval Monastic Devotions," in *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), pp. 111–48 and Cathleen A. Fleck, "'To exercise yourself in these things by continued contemplation': Visual and Textual Literacy in the Frescoes at Santa Maria Donna Regina in Angevin Naples," in *The Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina: Art, Iconography and Patronage in Fourteenth-Century Naples*, (ed.) Janis Elliott and Cordelia Warr (Aldershot: Ashgate Press, 2004), pp. 109–28. See Sarah McNamer on affective meditative literature on the Passion, or emotional texts that asked readers to imagine themselves at the scenes of Christ's "suffering and to perform compassion for that suffering victim in a private drama of the heart" (Sarah McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), p. 1). She points out that these began in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, though rarely do art historians address such ideas in art until the later Middle Ages. On devotion from 800–1200, see also Rachel Fulton, *From judgment to passion: devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800–1200* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).
- 109 Daniel K. Connolly, *The Maps of Matthew Paris: Medieval Journeys through Space, Time and Liturgy* (Rochester, NY: The Boydell Press, 2009), pp. 5–6, 14.
- 110 Kathryn M. Rudy, *Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent. Imagining Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 19–37.
- 111 Folda, "Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre," pp. 105–8. See Rudy, *Virtual Pilgrimages*, pp. 27–9. One of the biggest impediments for women was finding appropriate travel companions. A great concern was potential captivity and enslavement (Natasha R. Hodgson, *Women, Crusading and the Holy Land in Historical Narrative* (Rochester, NY: The Boydell Press, 2007), pp. 41–6).
- 112 Rudy, *Virtual Pilgrimages*, pp. 23, 44.
- 113 *Ibid.*, pp. 35–6.
- 114 McNamer, *Affective Meditation*, pp. 1–3.
- 115 The many texts noted by McNamer of an evocative type for devotions from this period and beyond reinforce this idea (*Ibid.*, pp. 60–61).
- 116 See Sabino de Sandoli OFM (ed.), *Itinera Hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum (saec. XII–XIII). III. Tempore recuperationis Terrae Sanctae (1187–1244)* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1983), p. 297 and Folda, *Crusader Art 1187–1291*, pp. 108–9.
- 117 Wilkinson, Hill, and Ryan, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, p. 274. See also Folda, "Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre," p. 160.
- 118 Folda, "Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre," p. 160.
- 119 *Ibid.*, p. 161.
- 120 On these texts, see Folda, *Crusader Art 1187–1291*, pp. 118–24.
- 121 *Ibid.*, pp. 120–22.
- 122 *Ibid.*, pp. 123–4.
- 123 Folda, "Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre," pp. 161–2.
- 124 Folda, *Crusader Art 1187–1291*, pp. 119–24.

- 125 See, for example, the slightly later *Legenda aurea* or *Golden Legend* of Jacobus de Voragine (1230–98) (see Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, (ed.) Giovanni Paolo Maggioni, 2 vols (Florence: SISMEL, 1998) and *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, (trans.) William Granger Ryan, 2 vols (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993). or the *Meditations on the Life of Christ*. Isa Ragusa and Rosalie Green date the latter text first to the late thirteenth century (in Saint Bonaventure, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century*. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. Ital. 115, (ed.) Isa Ragusa and Rosalie B. Green, (trans.) Isa Ragusa (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), pp. xxii–xxiii). The text is now attributed to Giovanni di Caulibus, a Tuscan Franciscan; see the Introduction to Iohannis de (olim S. Bonaventuro attributae) Caulibus, *Meditaciones Vite Christi*, (ed.) Mary Stallings-Taney (Turnhout: Typographi Brepols Editores Pontificii, 1997), pp. ix–xii. On its dating after 1336, see also Daniel R. Lesnick, *Preaching in Medieval Florence: The Social World of Franciscan and Dominican Spirituality* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1989), pp. 143–71; Emma Simi Varanelli, “Le ‘Meditationes Vitae Nostri Domini Jesu Christi’ nell’arte del duecento italiano,” *Arte Medievale* 6, no. 2 (1992): pp. 137–48; and Sarah McNamer, “Further Evidence for the Date of the Pseudo-Bonaventuran *Meditationes vite Christi*,” *Franciscan Studies* 50 (1990): p. 258. The text is important as one of many similar texts circulating from the thirteenth century onwards of a descriptive, narrative character.
- 126 Rudy, *Virtual Pilgrimages*, pp. 49–64.
- 127 Ibid., p. 36.
- 128 See Coleman and Elsner, *Pilgrimage: past and present*, pp. 92, 93.



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Looking Back: The Westminster Psalter, the Added Drawings, and the Idea of “Retrospective Crusade”

Debra Higgs Strickland

The Westminster Psalter, written and illuminated around 1200 for Benedictines, is celebrated as the oldest surviving psalter from Westminster Abbey to which it is securely connected based on the evidence of the calendar, litany, and a special prayer that highlights St. Peter, to whom the abbey was dedicated, and King Edward the Confessor (r. 1042–66), its resident saint.¹ Its original owner is unknown, but it is thought to have been commissioned by a high-ranking monk or abbot positioned at Westminster Abbey, where it was almost certainly in use from the time of its creation until 1540, when King Henry VIII (r. 1509–47) dissolved the monastery.² Of modest dimensions (230 × 155 mm) with text written in Latin, the psalter’s decoration is notable for its fine prefatory cycle of five full-page miniatures, which include portraits of Christ in Majesty and King David, among other subjects often included in English psalters of this period.³ But it is even more notable for what was added to it later. Around 1250, five extraordinarily accomplished, full-page drawings were added to leaves originally left blank near the back of the book by an unknown artist to provide, at this later date, a visual balance to the five full-page miniatures at the book’s beginning.⁴ They include a unique depiction of a knight, celebrated and identified by early critics as a crusader, but without any detailed qualification (Figure 9.2).⁵ In what follows, I wish to take a close look at this knight and his psalter context to explore the concept of “retrospective crusade,” a term I have coined to signify a type of viewer reception that lies somewhere between memory and ideology. By “retrospective” I refer to a cognitive process that takes place when a visual addition to an older work of art stimulates the beholder to understand it in a new way. Such an artistic intervention need not memorialize a particular person or event, but rather may introduce or reinforce a theme or idea that provides a lens through which the entire work may be viewed “retrospectively.” To categorize the Westminster Psalter as a retrospective work of crusading art, then, requires me to explain how the addition of the new drawings of the knight and other

subjects could have influenced the mid-thirteenth-century reader-viewer's understanding and experience of a psalter created 50 years earlier.

I undertake this investigation to further expand our definitions of crusading art with the suggestion that the "crusader component" of a given artwork might be supplied at some later point in its "life." What I have to say, then, positions me among critics who acknowledge that a work of art is not frozen at the moment of its creation, but rather over time may generate or accrue meanings that its creator(s) did not anticipate.⁶ Because this approach privileges reception over artistic intention, it potentially widens the swathe of associations between crusading and art roughly akin, from an historical perspective, to the way a "pluralist" approach opens up a broader range of associations between crusading and contemporary warfare.⁷ However, in order to qualify as "retrospective" in an artistic context, the art object in question must relate in some way to crusader culture. In this case, it is the drawing of the knight that creates an association between the crusades and a psalter in use at Westminster Abbey, a place of great significance for the promotion of crusade at the point when this and the other four drawings were added to it.

The Psalter

The original decoration of the Westminster Psalter has been attributed to three different artists. The first has been credited with the full-page miniatures, the second is thought to have executed the calendar's small zodiacal medallions and the 10 historiated or figural initials that decorate the psalms, and the third is thought to have painted the historiated initial for Psalm 101 that depicts a Benedictine monk, who might represent the patron, kneeling before Christ (fol. 116).⁸ The unusual, but not unique, privileging of St. Edward the Confessor in the calendar and in a prayer as well as in the litany is consistent with Westminster Abbey's special reverence for its saintly royal founder. Most of the rest of the psalter's pictorial contents, including the subjects of its full-page miniatures, are typical of other psalters of this period.⁹ Even though the Westminster Psalter's original decoration is not as luxurious, extensive, or inventive as that of some other contemporary English psalters, such as the Hunterian Psalter or the Shaftesbury Psalter,¹⁰ it is especially important for its early Westminster provenance in view of the subsequent flowering of art and architecture at Westminster Abbey and Westminster Palace under the patronage of King Henry III (r. 1216–72) and King Edward I (r. 1272–1307).¹¹

The Climate of Crusade in Thirteenth-Century England

The five Westminster Psalter drawings were created and viewed during a very significant period for promotion of crusading in England.¹² Although the role of the English in the first two crusades was limited, they undeniably

experienced a heyday of crusading activity highlighted by King Richard I's leadership on the Third Crusade in 1190–92, the crusade of 1270–72 undertaken by Lord Edward (the future King Edward I) in support of his uncle, King Louis IX of France (r. 1226–70), and in between, by Henry III's promotion of crusading through acquisitions of relics, public vow-taking, and extensive preparations for a crusade that he ultimately never undertook. Although historians disagree as to why Henry III never went on crusade and why his son, as Edward I, failed to go a second time, it is agreed that the crusading aspirations of both were fuelled by a desire to uphold the Plantagenet legacy. However, although King Henry II, Henry the Young King, King Richard I, and King John had all taken the cross, only Richard actually went in person, and so it was Richard in particular who provided "an inspiring precedent" for both Henry III and Edward.¹³

An enduring and distinguishing feature of England's crusading tradition was its nearly exclusive focus on crusades to the Holy Land, for which it was seen increasingly by the Roman curia as an important source of financial aid.¹⁴ In 1250, the very year or close to the year that the drawings were added to the Westminster Psalter, Henry III took the cross at the hands of Archbishop Boniface of Canterbury with great publicity and fanfare. According to Matthew Paris, on March 6, 1250, Henry summoned London citizens along with certain prelates and nobles to the great hall of Westminster, which they packed to overflowing to watch Henry and many others take their crusader vows.¹⁵ Henry took the cross in public a second time in 1252, when he vowed to depart for the East on July 24, 1256. Although the king never fulfilled his vow, many other Englishmen did, the most prominent being King Henry's cousin, William Longespée the Younger (d. 1250), who took the cross twice and was celebrated all over England as a hero and martyr in Louis IX's first crusade.¹⁶ By 1247, the bishop of Worcester, Walter de Cantiloupe, had also taken the cross. Hopes for a Plantagenet crusade leader were rekindled with the crusader achievements of Edward, who fought on Louis IX's second crusade and was returning from the Holy Land when his father died in 1272. Edward was thus identified in the East and at the papal curia as the potential leader of a new crusade from the very beginning of his reign. In 1275, he declared that he wanted to take the cross again, but he still had not done so by the time of his death in 1307.¹⁷

By the mid-thirteenth century, there was still more at stake for Henry III, as he saw himself, his dynastic lineage, and Westminster Abbey in competition with his brother-in-law, Louis IX, the Capetian crusader legacy, and the splendid royal chapel, the Sainte-Chapelle, which was linked to Louis's own crusading aspirations. Of particular significance in this context was the French king's purchase from his cousin Baldwin, the emperor of Constantinople, of a group of important Christological relics from the Holy Land, which included fragments of Christ's crown of thorns, cross, and other instruments of the Passion. The dramatic display in 1248 of these relics inside the spectacularly gilded and glazed, image-filled, Sainte-Chapelle purpose-built by "the most Christian king," is thought to have fed Henry's sense of rivalry.¹⁸ In response,

Henry accelerated his own decorative campaign of Westminster Abbey, his royal palace, and other royal buildings to include crusader imagery—of the Battle of Antioch and the imaginary duel between Saladin and Richard I—in an attempt to connect himself to his uncle's illustrious crusading legacy.¹⁹ On the relics front, to compete with Louis IX's prestigious collection, Henry made two important acquisitions. With the assistance of the Templars, in 1247 he acquired for Westminster Abbey a crystalline vase containing a quantity of the most precious Holy Blood,²⁰ and in 1249, he received from the Dominicans the marble slab bearing an imprint of Christ's foot (*passus Christi*) believed to have been left at the Ascension.²¹ As pictured and described by Matthew Paris, to call attention to his prizes and as part of the celebration of St. Edward's feast day, Henry staged a dramatic procession in which he carried the vase containing the Holy Blood from St. Paul's Cathedral to Westminster Abbey.²² Henry's display of these and other relics,²³ as well as his other (unsuccessful) efforts to establish a cult of the Holy Blood and to revitalize the cult of St. Edward at Westminster Abbey, have been analyzed as means by which Henry hoped to outdo Louis IX as "the most Christian king" and to establish the Plantagenets as the pre-eminent Christian dynasty. Most importantly, the acquisition of Christological relics and promotion of the cult of the Holy Blood have been closely linked to Henry III's crusading aspirations inasmuch that relics were reminders of Christ's sufferings that liberation of the Holy Land would help to avenge.²⁴

In tandem with the king's personal aspirations, the English clergy, mendicant orders, and even the laity were heavily involved in the promotion and support of the crusades.²⁵ The clergy paid mandatory taxes imposed by the popes who sought additional funding from the clerical body and the laity by various other means. Clergy were also required to promote crusade by preaching, public processions, and by implementing special features of the liturgy established in the thirteenth century by Pope Innocent III (d. 1216) and elaborated further under Innocent IV (d. 1254). The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 reaffirmed Innocent III's earlier decree of 1213 that there should be monthly processions to seek divine intervention for the liberation of the Holy Land, and that each day, prayers were to be recited in all masses, along with Psalms 78 and 67 and a special prayer asking for God's protection for the crusader, Henry III, and the delivery of the Holy Land.²⁶

In 1249, Innocent IV sent a more detailed directive to England that there should be a mass for the liberation of the Holy Land once each week in all churches, along with a monthly procession at which crusader sermons were to be preached. Every day, Psalm 78 was to be recited, along with the special prayer already required by Innocent III. To accompany the prayers recited in the churches, two bells were to be rung, so that those at home or at work could hear them as a reminder to pray as well. In addition, there was to be a solemn, monthly procession of clergy and citizens, during which the mass of the Holy Cross was to be sung and a sermon delivered encouraging the people to pray for Henry, his crusading company, and the delivery of the Holy Land. In addition to these regular liturgical activities, the amount of local

preaching of the cross and promotion of crusade to the English population undertaken by the Dominicans and Franciscans cannot be overestimated.²⁷ The place of the Psalms in crusader sermons and the liturgy, to which we will return, is of particular importance for a “retrospective crusade” analysis of the Westminster Psalter.

The Drawings

At the time the five drawings were added to the Westminster Psalter, the rhetoric and imagery of crusade promoted by the Roman curia by way of the English monarchy, clergy, and mendicants headquartered at Westminster Abbey were ubiquitous features of English life. Against this background, let us take a closer look at the drawings, which, as already noted, were executed on folios positioned near the end of the manuscript that were originally left blank. This is an important fact, because it eliminates the possibility that the drawings were an ad hoc assortment of images inserted at some uncertain moment or in an arbitrary order; clearly their subjects were selected to embellish this particular psalter at this time, in this sequence and position in the manuscript.

Four of the five drawings—the ones depicting the king, knight, St. Christopher, and the archbishop—have been said to possess a monumental quality which suggests that they were created as studies for wall paintings rather than planned as miniatures (Figures 9.1, 9.2, 9.3 and 9.4). Stylistic affinities between these four drawings and contemporary murals at Westminster Abbey, with which they share one subject (St. Christopher), might support this view.²⁸ In my opinion, however, the theory that the drawings were studies for murals is problematic because it implies that these remarkably accomplished and, as I shall argue below, interrelated, images are not really what they appear to be. On the other hand, if monumentality is defined as an expressive quality rather than a visual reference to large size, the function issue is resolved and the value of this observation for our understanding of the drawings becomes clearer. Although all five drawings are otherwise stylistically dissimilar from the earlier psalter miniatures, their monumental quality is an appropriate visual response towards the end of the book to the five fully painted prefatory miniatures positioned near its beginning. The subjects of the two series of images positioned at the psalter’s beginning and end, respectively, do not relate to each other in a programmed or consistent way. But it may be observed that the Christ Child first held by the enthroned Virgin Mary (fol. 13v) is later ferried by St. Christopher (Figure 9.3), the theme of monarchy inherent in the miniature of King David (fol. 14v) appears again in the drawing of the unidentified king (Figure 9.1), and the Holy Face drawing (Figure 9.5), as a hieratic manifestation of Christ, echoes the earlier, equally hieratic Christ in majesty (fol. 14).

Let us examine each of the drawings in turn. They are positioned immediately after a series of 11 collects (short prayers) to be offered on behalf of bishops,

abbots, and other servants of the Lord (*tui famuli*), both living and dead.²⁹ The reader-viewer then turns over a blank folio to encounter on its verso side the first tinted drawing of a king wearing a green mantle lined with vair, rendered in blue and white over a light brown tunic richly decorated with jewels and a pattern of fleurs-de-lys (Figure 9.1). Standing frontally, but with his face and gaze directed to his left towards the knight on the facing folio (Figure 9.2), the king wears a long blue-gray beard and a crown decorated with jewels and alternating leaves and crosses. On his feet, he wears buskins embroidered in a diagonal motif.³⁰ He holds in his right hand an exuberantly flowering fleur-de-lys scepter bearing two clusters of grapes, which is a generic type, and, in the absence of an inscription or other attribute, he is not identified with any particular king.³¹ The figure nevertheless has been identified as Edward the Confessor,³² who is commemorated in the text of the psalter as the founder of the abbey that also housed his shrine.³³ As already noted, Edward's cult was being heavily promoted at this time by Henry III, who also commissioned a mural of Edward's coronation for his private chambers in Westminster Palace.³⁴ But lacking an inscription or the attribute of the ring that identifies the Confessor in other English medieval artistic contexts,³⁵ the figure could equally represent a still-living king, an impression strengthened by the gesture he is making with his left hand towards the contemporary knight kneeling and raising his arms before him on the facing page (Figures 9.1 and 9.2). I will return to this interaction as part of a detailed look at the knight, which I am saving for last. But I would like to suggest at this relatively early moment that in an English psalter context, the king's generic form, as well as his lack of a halo, allows him to be understood according to the viewer's preference as a particular king (saintly or not, past or present), an emblem of the English monarchy, or more broadly still, of Christian kingship.

Turning over the folio on which the knight was drawn reveals a third, highly expressive tinted drawing of a ruddy-faced St. Christopher ferrying a rosy-cheeked, animated Christ Child across a river (Figure 9.3). The saint is positioned frontally but with his head turned towards the left to regard his divine cargo, identified by his blue cruciform halo, and holding an orb. Christopher's curly beard is long and gray, his head is unhaloed and covered with a loosely tied turban, and he wears a belted green tunic and linen breeches tied at the knee.³⁶ Bare-legged and immersed in the river to just above his ankles, he is wading towards the right as he transports the Christ Child in a sling elaborately knotted over his left shoulder. Like the king in the first drawing, St. Christopher's attribute is a staff—this one for walking rather than for ruling—and terminating in a T (tau). Christopher's kindly gaze is especially affective, and other expressive elements include the detail of the Child impatiently tugging at the saint's turban ("Are we there yet?"). For this subject, the monumental quality of the drawing is doubly appropriate because Christopher (originally known as Reprobis) was believed to have been very large, having been characterized in the thirteenth-century *Golden Legend* at the beginning of the story as a 12-foot-tall Canaanite, pagan giant looking to serve the world's most powerful lord.³⁷ He was therefore often

portrayed on the walls of English churches in his Christ-toting guise as life-size or larger, and so he is depicted this way on the south wall of the south transept in Westminster Abbey.³⁸ Even so, in the psalter drawing, the saint is rendered as an ordinary man, proportionate to the Christ Child.

However, that this was no ordinary child is signaled by the novel manner by which he is being hoisted in a sling, as if he were extremely heavy. According to popular belief, he was: the *Golden Legend* records how the giant Christopher felt increasingly weighed down as he struggled to transport the Christ Child across the river, to the point that he almost faltered. Once safely on the other side, Christopher exclaimed, "My boy, you put me in great danger, and you weighed so much that if I had had the whole world on my back I could not have felt it a heavier burden!" whereupon the Child replied, "You were not only carrying the whole world, you had him who created the world upon your shoulders! I am Christ your king ..." ³⁹ The small orb held by the Child, as a sign of the world, might refer to this aspect of the legend. Weighing the significance of this story at Westminster, in addition to the mural of the same subject, it is notable that a relic consisting of parts of St. Christopher's head was among several others gifted to Westminster by Henry III,⁴⁰ and as one of the most popular English saints, his name unsurprisingly appears among the martyrs in the psalter's litany.⁴¹

So far, we have seen a king, a knight (to which we will return), and a saint, all of whom are rendered engaging in activities outwith the viewer's space. Next, facing the St. Christopher folio, is a very fine, uncolored drawing of an archbishop positioned frontally and gazing directly at the viewer, whom he blesses with his right hand (Figure 9.4). The archbishop is mitred and wears a curly haircut and beard. The cross staff he holds in his left hand and the pallium decorated with tiny crosses that he wears over his vestments are the signifiers of his office.⁴² As in the drawing of the king, much artistic effort has been devoted to rendering the archbishop's dignity and sartorial finery. Although his artistic context is a liturgical one, his miter and gloves, which were not liturgically significant, also identify him as a figure of temporal power.⁴³ Like the king, the archbishop is generic in appearance, which enables different identifications. Suggestions have included St. Thomas Becket of Canterbury, who was canonized in 1173, or St. Edmund of Canterbury, canonized in 1247.⁴⁴ However, there are no inscriptions or pictorial attributes with which to justify these or any other "fixed" identifications. Besides, since Edmund died in exile and on the wrong side of Henry III, he would seem an unlikely candidate for commemoration in a psalter flashed about at Westminster, and although Henry devoutly attended the translation of Becket's bones to a new shrine in Canterbury Cathedral in 1221 and also gifted some of his relics to Westminster Abbey, the Becket cult never had a significant presence here.⁴⁵ Transcendent of any particular living or dead individual, just as the drawing of the king could be read as a symbol of the English monarchy or of Christian kingship, so the image of the archbishop could stand for the English Church, or more broadly still, the Roman one.

The figure of the archbishop *qua* archbishop was also not without connections to crusade. Potential crusaders, including Henry III, took the cross at the hands of the archbishop, and archbishops sometimes took the cross themselves. That is, even though medieval clerics were not supposed to shed blood in warfare, some of them played a militant role on crusade, especially abbots, bishops and archbishops, and many other clerics promoted the crusades in other ways.⁴⁶ Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury (d. 1190) and Hubert Walter (d. 1205), Bishop of Salisbury and later Archbishop of Canterbury, both led English forces during the Third Crusade,⁴⁷ and in the 1250s, King Henry's crusading policies were promoted by the Archbishop of York.⁴⁸ As noted above, prelates were also largely responsible for organizing the preaching of crusades, for recruitment, and were taxed by the papacy. In the Westminster drawing, that the archbishop's cross staff is surmounted by a crucifix rather than the more customary uninhabited cross is especially significant in a crusading context as a reminder of the Christological focus of efforts to regain control of the Holy Land. It has been observed that "Jerusalem and the blood-shedding of Christ were immutably linked, both in crusader propaganda and in medieval writing in general."⁴⁹ It is also possible that the archbishop in the drawing holds the crucifix in recognition of Henry III's special dedication to the Holy Cross and the Good Friday liturgy, which, like the king's promotion of pilgrimage cults, have been interpreted in relation to his crusading interests.⁵⁰ Gazing directly at the viewer, the archbishop blesses and holds the crucifix before anyone wishing to take the cross and depart for the Holy Land—physically or spiritually—or to commute their crusader vows, or to otherwise support the crusades at home through prayer, preaching, and liturgical celebrations.

As a frontally positioned figure that directly engages the viewer, the archbishop provides a visual transition to the final drawing on the verso side of the folio. Turning the page, the viewer is abruptly confronted with a nearly full-page tinted drawing of the frontally staring face of Christ (Figure 9.5). Positioned after the four previous drawings, this one provides a compelling visual change, although not one so dramatic as the shift from small marginal drawings to the full-page, very similar depiction included in Matthew Paris's *Chronica majora*, on which the Westminster drawing is thought to have been modeled.⁵¹ Earlier assumptions that the first four of the psalter drawings were studies for murals notwithstanding, this fifth drawing stands alone as an image of another image, rather than a direct representation of a personage. Besides St. Christopher, it is also the only figure with a stable identification, this time by virtue of its accompanying text.

The Holy Face as depicted here and in other medieval works of art was understood as a visual record of the image of the face of Christ that was believed to have been miraculously impressed upon a cloth. Often referred to as the Veronica after the woman who owned it,⁵² the cloth was known in England as the vernicle. The *Golden Legend* recounts that Veronica desired to have a picture painted of Jesus on a cloth to keep with her for when she was unable to be in his presence. On her way to deliver a piece of linen to the artist

for this purpose, she met with Jesus, who, upon learning the nature of her errand, pressed his face on the cloth and miraculously left his image on it. Later, when the emperor Tiberius Caesar fell gravely ill, he borrowed the cloth and was instantly cured just by gazing at the image.⁵³ As an image of an image, the Westminster figure's engagement with the viewer is less direct and is further mediated by its hieratic, unfocused stare, as well as the accompanying text. Quite apart from the text, one of the ways the artist signaled that this image records a miraculous impression rather than a mere painted likeness of Christ's face was by extending the halo beyond the boundaries of the blue cloth that according to the legend is required to contain it.

The "original" relic which the drawing records made its appearance in St. Peter's in Rome only in the thirteenth century, when it assumed great importance following a miracle involving Innocent III that was illustrated and described by Matthew Paris in the *Chronica majora*. Matthew records that in Rome in 1216, while Innocent III was carrying the vernicle in procession from St. Peter's to the Hospital of the Holy Ghost, the image suddenly turned upside-down so that its forehead was below and its beard on top. Innocent interpreted this as a sign of divine displeasure, and so (presumably to placate it) he composed a prayer in its honor and conceded ten days' indulgence to whomever recited it.⁵⁴ It was this event and its aftermath that prompted the expansion of devotion to the vernicle in England as elsewhere that was marked by the spread of hymns and images.⁵⁵ Innocent's prayer, which characterizes the miraculous image as a "memento" (*memoriale*) and expresses the beholder's hope of one day being allowed to see Christ "face to face" (*facie ad faciem*), was carefully written below the Westminster Psalter drawing, but the text of the indulgence was omitted.⁵⁶

That the drawing of the vernicle was added to the psalter during the mid-thirteenth century is highly significant because it was at this same time that the Roman relic it represents assumed pre-eminence as a focus of one of the largest pilgrimage cults in Christendom. Given the close stylistic relationship that has been recognized between the Westminster Psalter drawing and the art of Matthew Paris, as well as Matthew's artistic and personal connections to Westminster Abbey and Henry III,⁵⁷ it is unsurprising that one of the most important images in Matthew's *Chronica majora* compiled at the nearby abbey of St. Albans would have been copied into the Westminster Psalter—although it was not replicated exactly, nor was the accompanying text repeated verbatim. In addition, it is possible that a manuscript drawing of the vernicle could have provided beholders with a more dramatic contemplative experience than that obtainable from the inaccessible "original." That is, as a reminder of its power to display divine displeasure, the image could easily be viewed or turned upside-down as a re-enactment of the miracle witnessed by Innocent III.

For its thirteenth-century reader-viewers, the text and image of the vernicle was the last folio in the Westminster Psalter. But at a later point, some additional folios of text written in a fourteenth-century hand were added. The facing page of the vernicle contains the beginning of a lengthy prayer to be recited before the Mass, and following this is a list of feasts, also written in a fourteenth-

century hand. This perhaps signals a newer function of the vernicle image in later liturgical contexts or alternatively, its diminished significance.⁵⁸ But before this final intervention, it was the vernicle that occupied the important last position in the entire psalter as a culmination of the Christological focus provided by the prefatory miniatures, and by the historiated initial depicting Christ blessing the monk holding a scroll inscribed with the opening words of Psalm 101: "Hear, O Lord, my prayer."⁵⁹

The connection between the vernicle and crusades lies also in their shared Christological focus in relation to medieval concepts of pilgrimage, the penitential activity that stimulated journeys to venerate the Veronica and in which crusading was ultimately grounded. That the crusades/pilgrimage connection endured over centuries is apparent from surviving liturgical texts for the crusader ritual, which involved investing the aspiring crusader with the pilgrim's scrip and purse in addition to the cross.⁶⁰ Parallel to this, the addition around 1250 of the vernicle drawing to the Westminster Psalter was likely a response to the ascendancy of the relic as the object of one of the most important pilgrimage destinations in Rome. Finally, providing visual access to—if not direct reportage of—this famous relic in a psalter used in Westminster Abbey should also be considered in light of Henry's competition with Louis IX as a response to the French king's acquisition of the Edessa mandylion, an even more venerable, miraculous impression of Christ's face on a cloth, on display in Sainte-Chapelle.⁶¹ In a very general way, the Westminster Psalter vernicle enhanced the cult climate established by the vase of the Holy Blood, Christ's footprint in marble, and other relics set up by Henry in Westminster Abbey as pilgrimage attractions to vie with Louis IX's precious hoard. From a crusading perspective, besides providing beholders with a tantalizing preview of the longed-for experience of gazing upon Christ's face at the end of time, the image of the vernicle pointed to the Holy Land and more directly, to Christ himself, in whose name the *crucesignati* marched forth.

The Knight

This brings us back to the drawing of the knight (Figure 9.2). Accompanied by his warhorse (destrier) and squire, the figure has been identified in the scholarly literature as a crusader, undoubtedly owing to the unusual presence of the multiple crosses that decorate his surcoat and pennon. The elegant, tinted drawing style of the knight communicates much about chivalric values at Westminster and may be compared to Arthurian romance illustration and representations of heroic knights and saints in the *libelli*, Apocalypses, and other types of manuscripts executed in London and St Albans around this same time.⁶² Beyond style, close scrutiny of the knight's armor, weaponry, and other attributes lends additional support to the crusader definition. The most detailed description to date, penned in 1921, identifies the figure as:

... a crusader, kneeling on one knee with hand [*sic*] extended, as if to do homage to the king opposite; his horse is partly represented behind him and

from battlements a squire reaching down to him his helm. The knight wears a round coif and a hauberk and chausses of mail, ailettes in the form of a cross, a sleeveless surcoat also adorned with crosses pattées, chausses (with metal bosses) not enveloping the leg but laced behind over the calf, and a plain goad-like spur. His sword is buckled over the surcoat, and his lance has a pennon with three crosses.⁶³

This technical assessment of the knight's armor can be further refined.⁶⁴ For example, the one visible cross-shaped "aillette" does not really appear to represent a shoulder plate laced to the knight's armor so much as a non-military embellishment, as if a single cross has emerged triumphantly from the solid body armor worn beneath the knight's surcoat to assume its position above his right shoulder.⁶⁵ The leg chausses might be more accurately interpreted as mail rendered in a slightly different manner. The coif, hauberk, and hand mufflers could all be integral and the laces tying the ventail (a flap that can be drawn across the mouth) to the coif as well as the leather grips on the underside of the mufflers are finely rendered. Impending battle is suggested by the detail of the grips depicted on the destrier's horseshoe.

The sword that hangs at the knight's side is a type of personal knightly weapon known as an arming sword.⁶⁶ Finally, the knight's helm has been identified as an exceptionally ornate version of a design popular from the second decade of the thirteenth century until the mid-thirteenth century. It is interesting in light of the present discussion that the earliest artistic record of this type of helm is found on the First Great Seal of Henry III, which was in use from 1218, and that the next helm design innovation (with sights terminating at the sides with fleurs-de-lys) appears on the Second Great Seal of Henry III, which was in use before 1259.⁶⁷

The social class represented by the Westminster Psalter knight is especially significant in a crusading context. Even though the mid-thirteenth-century call to crusade by Innocent IV was aimed at "all manner of men," measures were in place to ensure that most manner of men (and women) would redeem their vows for cash, which could be put towards the acquisition of knights, who were the ones best trained to fight as heavily armed cavalry.⁶⁸ The presence of the horse in the drawing and the animal's battle-readiness implied by the grips on his horseshoe suggest that this knight should be identified as one of the mounted fighting elite. A sense of urgency is created by the artist's use of continuous narrative: the knight raises his hands in a gesture of homage to the king on the opposite folio at the same time that the squire is handing him his helm (Figures 9.1, 9.2). These conflated acts may be seen as a visual reference to the sequential mechanics of the ritual of departure, which in reality were often separated by a considerable period of time.⁶⁹

For psalter viewers, the act of homage performed by the knight would have resonated with the language they heard from preachers describing the activity and benefits of crusading in contemporary fealty terms. Surviving collections compiled during the thirteenth century of model crusading sermons aimed at different social groups (*ad status*) include many such references. In his analysis of the *ad status* collections, Christoph Maier has concluded that inasmuch as

crusaders were perceived as fighting a war in the service of God or Christ, they were considered to be bound to God by feudal obligation. For example, the Dominican Humbert of Romans (d. 1277) in his second model sermon, explicitly states that the call for crusade by the pope was to be understood as God calling upon his faithful followers to join his army, just like a worldly king in times of war. Continuing the feudal comparison, Humbert wrote that just as the grant of "temporal things" from a "worldly lord" carried with it an obligation between a man and his lord, so the fact that crusaders held their bodies and souls as a grant from God put them under an obligation to serve him in "faithfulness." In return, in feudal fashion, God was said to reward crusaders for their services by granting them "gifts" in the form of the indulgence.⁷⁰ Other authors incorporated into their sermon models terminology that reinforced the feudal relationship between crusaders and God, including references to Christ's or the Lord's "vassal," "liege-man," "arms-bearer," "standard-bearer," "key-bearer," "treasurer," or "chancellor." Similarly, the spiritual rewards granted by God are described in feudal terms: God is described as "investing" crusaders "with the heavenly kingdom" or giving them "benefices" or "gifts." Maier observes that:

the recurring use of feudal concepts in crusade model sermons shows that, by the thirteenth century, the feudal model had become one of the standard means for showing what the crusade was all about: it could be used as justifying the crusade as God's war and explaining the nature of the crusader's relationship with God in terms of the duties and rewards which followed from service in the army of the Lord. All in all, there was an underlying consensus about the usefulness and appeal of portraying the crusader's relationship with God or Christ in terms of contemporary feudal practice.⁷¹

The knight wearing armor embellished with crosses apparently swearing an oath before the king in the Westminster Psalter serves this fealty/crusading metaphor very well by paying homage to a worldly lord as a symbol of his much bigger obligation to God. From this perspective, the cross affixed to the knight's shoulder looks less like an ailette than the conventional sign of his crusading vow, typically made out of cloth or metal. By the thirteenth century, the standard term for crusader was *crucesignatus*, meaning "signed with the cross," to describe a person who took vows and attached a cross of cloth onto his or her outer garment. The cross was supposed to be worn in a way that was visible to others from the moment the crusader took vows until the crusade ended. Also considered a status symbol, it was sometimes made of precious materials, such as fancy silk or gold brocade, or it could be made of tin or lead, like a pilgrim's badge.⁷² In another model sermon, James of Vitry (d. 1240), elected Bishop of Acre and propagandist/participant on the Fifth Crusade, identifies the shoulder specifically as a location for the cross when he asks the listener to imagine the cross sewn onto the crusader's shoulder "by the thread of God's love."⁷³ Perhaps this explains the knight's shoulder cross in the Westminster Psalter drawing, and reading it as his *signum crucis* rather than as part of his armor (i.e., as an ailette) also explains

why just one was depicted. Besides functioning as a metaphorical reference to taking the cross in general and at Westminster Abbey in particular, the Westminster Psalter drawings of the crusader and the king may also point to the contemporary departure ritual of leaving on crusade, the solemn liturgical event whose purpose was to purify the crusaders. Anne Lester has noted that in the thirteenth century, many crusaders began their journeys from the gates of a monastery or nunnery, “leaving a holy space for the Holy Land.”⁷⁴ Westminster Abbey was one such holy space, whose building campaign and decoration under Henry III, as already noted, were directly linked to the king’s crusader aspirations.⁷⁵

Before leaving the knight, we should also consider contemporary spiritual associations for knights and their armor that justify the inclusion of an image of a battle-ready knight decorated with crosses—an unambiguous reference to Christian violence—in a psalter. In fact, its presence here has been characterized by one critic as “the most blatant and inexplicable example of the intrusion of military motifs into religious contexts.”⁷⁶ Yet, as Jonathan Alexander has shown, there was a long tradition in Anglo-Norman devotional manuscript illumination of images of knights with spiritual connotations,⁷⁷ and military allegory was quite elaborately developed in late medieval hagiography and public sermons. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, monastic hagiographers writing in England and elsewhere glossed the coats of mail worn by saints, known collectively as *loricati*, as markers of their wearers’ humility and desire to do penance. An excellent English example of this type of rhetoric is found in John of Ford’s twelfth-century account of St. Wulfric, in which the saint is described as an armor-wearing “soldier of Christ” (*milites Christi*).⁷⁸ In such hagiographical contexts, it has been suggested that the language of war served as the lingua franca of two groups more commonly represented at odds with one another during the central Middle Ages: warriors and monks, which in turn helped to ease the fundamental dilemma faced by religious who took up arms in the name of Christ.⁷⁹ Bearing witness to more greatly expanded definitions of Christian warfare, after 1200 it became increasingly commonplace for medieval writers to refer to Christ himself in chivalric terms as the “perfect knight.”⁸⁰ Still, I hesitate to suggest that the knight added to the Westminster Psalter might have been identified as Christ, not least because he is depicted in a subordinate position to the king on the facing folio. On the other hand, medieval viewers were familiar with the Gospel story of Jesus washing the feet of his disciples (John 13:1–17) which, like the crucifixion, was a subordinate act undertaken by God himself as a powerful example for others.⁸¹ In the Westminster Psalter, could the knight kneeling before the king have represented Christ as the ultimate crusader, the rightful leader of the Christian faithful fighting to liberate the earthly place he lived and died, as an example for others? If so, then in addition to whatever else they might represent, this pair of drawings is an important, if not unique, witness to spiritual understanding of crusading activity at the time of Henry III.

Crusader Relationships

Viewed in a place deeply invested in the “business of the cross,” the paired figures of the knight and the king are followed by three more drawings of other subjects that vie for the beholder’s attention. How are we to understand this seemingly disparate group of subjects in the crusading context established by the first pair? Compared to the king and the knight, the drawings of St. Christopher, an unidentified archbishop, and the vernicle appear rather arbitrary (Figures 9.3, 9.4, and 9.5). However, the key to understanding what unites them, I believe, is to interpret them as two pairs plus one rather than in isolation. A similar interpretative solution was suggested in 1960 by Meyer Schapiro in an important article on the c. 1220 Glazier Psalter, whose cycle of six full-page prefatory miniatures are closely related to those in the Westminster Psalter, even sharing some of the same subjects.⁸² By analyzing the facing full-page miniatures of the Glazier Psalter in pairs, Schapiro was able to uncover ideological and thematic links between the biblical subjects represented and contemporary English coronation rituals. If approached similarly, the Westminster Psalter drawings collectively point to the Holy Land crusades through visual references to royal, saintly, ecclesiastical, and Christological sanction.

The first image pair of the knight kneeling before the king with his warhorse at the ready bespeaks Plantagenet support for crusading aspirations at the same time as providing a metaphor for sanction by God himself (Figures 9.1 and 9.2). Next, St. Christopher, patron saint of travelers, is paired with the archbishop; together they represent Church authority (Figures 9.3 and 9.4). In a crusader context, the choice of emblemizing the earthly Church as an archbishop, at whose hands many people took up the cross at Westminster and elsewhere, is especially appropriate owing to the heavy responsibilities borne by prelates for implementing all of the mandated liturgical measures set out by the papacy, and for monitoring the collection of monies and fulfillment of vows.⁸³ Viewed as a pair, the frontally positioned archbishop implores the aspiring crusader to take the cross, while St. Christopher offers him or her protection, as for other pilgrims, of which crusaders were the militant variety. That crusaders continued to be identified with pilgrims was ensured by the blessing of the scrip and staff in the crusader rite. St. Christopher as “Christ bearer” thus provides an additional metaphorical parallel for the pilgrim *crucesignati* taking or “bearing” the cross.

As a simulacrum of a miraculous image of Christ, it is appropriate that the final drawing of the vernicle stands alone (Figure 9.5). Besides functioning as a starkly direct reminder to the reader-viewer that the crusades were to be undertaken by and for the sake of Christ, as an indulgenced image—as it was known to be, accompanied or not by the indulgence text—it also advertises the spiritual reward for taking up the cross by pointing directly to the Holy Land, the image’s very place of origin in the hands of Veronica. As a visual *deus hoc vult*, the face of Christ was the ultimate sanction for the crusading enterprise.

Analysis: Looking Back

Having examined all five of the drawings in detail, we return now to the psalter to which they were added. When viewed “retrospectively” in relation to the later drawings, its prayers and psalms take on renewed significance as justification for, as well as typological forecast of, the Christian crusades. The importance of the Psalms as a call to holy war in thirteenth-century liturgical contexts was already in place at the time the psalter was originally compiled. Recall that among the liturgical requirements for crusading promotion mandated by Innocent III was the regular recitation of Psalms 67 and 78, which by the end of the twelfth century had acquired crusader connotations. In the Westminster Psalter, although both of these psalms are marked by enlarged, decorated initials no more elaborate than those marking the beginnings of some of the other psalms, Psalm 78, *Deus venerunt gentes*, would have been read increasingly from a crusader perspective. This is because from at least the time of the loss of Jerusalem in 1187, the liturgical devotions for dead crusaders centered on this particular psalm, which begins, “Oh God, the heathens are come into thine inheritance, they have defiled thy holy temple: they have made Jerusalem as a place to keep fruit” (Ps. 78:1).⁸⁴

Psalm 78 also occupied a central position in the canon of the mass. The earliest witness to its usage in what is known as the Jerusalem liturgy, first offered in London for the deliverance of the Holy Land, is found in Roger of Howden’s *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, a chronicle he continued while serving on the Third Crusade.⁸⁵ The *Gesta* describes a weekly program of daily masses, first celebrated in 1188 at St. Peter’s, that were linked to rumors coming from Constantinople about Saladin’s defeats near Antioch, as well as prophecies concerning the imminent downfall of his empire. Depending on the day of the week, the canon of the mass was oriented around Psalms 2, 53, 59, 73, 78, 82, or 93. All seven of these psalms address themes easily read in relation to the crusades, such as war, martyrdom, the defense of Israel against oppressors, the conquest of Jerusalem, and cries for vengeance and justice.⁸⁶ Innocent III’s specific liturgical requirements for promotion of the crusades have already been noted, but it can be added here that the group of prayers for Jerusalem centered on Psalm 78 became an established feature of the daily mass during the thirteenth century.⁸⁷

Beyond the Jerusalem liturgy, the psalms informed crusader sermons as part of a larger metaphor that encouraged medieval understanding of the crusades as contemporary re-enactments of the Old Testament wars, with reference to particular heroes, especially Judas Maccabeus and King David.⁸⁸ In the Westminster Psalter, a crowned and enthroned King David harping is represented in the last of the full-page miniatures and on the facing page inhabiting the Beatus initial, in which he is represented slaying the giant, Goliath; handing over Goliath’s head to Saul (1 Kings 17); and once again playing the harp. That the harping King David in the full-page miniature is surrounded by two pairs of bells also points “retrospectively” to the crusader liturgy, which required the ringing of two bells to summon all who could hear them to pray for God’s protection for the crusader, Henry III, and the delivery of the Holy Land.

The transformative work of the Westminster Psalter drawings differs from the artistic strategy used in the renderings of the Old Testament battle scenes in the famous Morgan Library Picture Bible executed in Paris for Louis IX around the same time.⁸⁹ Filled with narrative illuminations densely populated with armored knights and materiel that reference violence in the Holy Land, this extraordinary manuscript is justly celebrated for its detailed representations of the martial culture of mid-thirteenth-century France. As an appropriation of Old Testament history, this book functioned as crusading art right from the start. The Westminster Psalter artist, by contrast, drew strategically chosen crusader subjects on blank folios in the back of a psalter in order to add a new dimension of meaning to an earlier work and in so doing he rerouted, rather than redrew, the earlier, conventional psalter illustrations.

Especially if we accept the possibility that the knight in the second drawing represents Christ as crusader, medieval interpretation of the Psalms as a forecast of the coming of Christ is reiterated in this psalter in a new and powerful way. That is, the full-page, prefatory illuminations of scenes from Christ's infancy and of Christ in Majesty remind the reader of the "true" meaning of the psalms, just as they do in psalters produced across the entire medieval period, and likewise, the figure of King David retains his usual significance in this context as Christ's ancestor and typological forerunner.⁹⁰ With the addition of the drawings, then, the psalms can perform double duty as a forecast of the coming of Christ and as an expression of contemporary Christian military victory in the Holy Land. In view of the virtual certainty that the psalter was regularly used by religious in Westminster Abbey, its transformation into a *vox ecclesiae* for crusade afforded persons technically forbidden from shedding blood in warfare the possibility of at-home participation in the crusading experience through prayers, preaching, and the contemplation of images.

Finally, (re)viewing the Westminster Psalter in relation to crusade requires consideration of its relationship to the crusader goal of vanquishing the "heathen," to which reference was made frequently in crusader bulls, sermons, and liturgical prayers. Certain psalms, with their exhortations against God's enemies and calls for blood revenge, were easily repurposed as exhortations against the enemy Muslims or "Saracens" in the Holy Land to be annihilated by Christian knights. This is especially true of the liturgically central Psalm 78, which, after its opening exhortation against the "heathens" as quoted above, continues, "Pour out thy wrath upon the nations that have not known thee: and upon the kingdoms that have not called upon thy name" (Ps. 78: 6). While the Saracens were obviously in the foreground of English crusading concerns, in the background remained the "heathen" Jews, targets of crusader violence beginning with the First Crusade.⁹¹ It is thought to have been no coincidence that in 1253, Henry III enacted the most oppressive legislation against the Jews of England hitherto drawn up by any English monarch, an action recognized as "entirely consistent with the mentality of a royal *crucesignatus* seriously planning to liberate the Holy Land from other 'enemies of Christ.'"⁹² But just as Henry's crusading expedition never sailed,

so he never managed to eradicate these so-called “enemies of Christ” from his kingdom. Instead, he and his wife, Eleanor of Provence, founded the infamous *domus conversorum* in London to house converted Jews.⁹³ It would take his son, Edward I, in whom crusader hopes were far more heavily invested, until 1290 to finally expel the Jews from England.⁹⁴ Perhaps Edward did so in lieu of his own ability to return to the Holy Land to eradicate the “heathen” over there.

This brief analysis of the possible ways in which the addition of five exquisite drawings altered the reception of the Westminster Psalter considers the “life” of the manuscript over time on the assumption that it actively helped to shape the culture in which it continued to participate. However, to analyze this particular type of book in this way necessarily exposes a tension between modern art historical and medieval perspectives of time.⁹⁵ From a medieval theological perspective, the psalter as an object does not move through time so much as occupy an unchanging space *beyond* time that is evoked through the perpetual recitation of its sacred words. It was made for daily reading and viewing towards attainment of the spiritual “truth” that repetition was believed to bestow. This means that psalters by definition were conservative compilations.⁹⁶ Conventional psalter imagery, such as that originally included in the Westminster Psalter, contributed to the sense of timelessness and the continued inclusion of Latin texts underscored that point linguistically. However, it is clear from even the relatively small number of these precious books that survive from medieval England that user agendas departed quite markedly from prescribed theological ones, as evidenced by the inclusion of highly inventive images that contrast, sometimes spectacularly, with the tenor of their accompanying texts. I am thinking, of course, about the medieval imaginations that juxtaposed quotidian, profane, and even obscene imagery in the margins of devotional manuscripts, including psalters, alongside sacred texts and images.⁹⁷ The drawings added to the Westminster Psalter may be viewed analogously as a way of expanding the functions of a devotional book: just as thirteenth-century textual additions to older service books signaled changes in liturgical practices, so pictorial additions signaled changes in contemplative visual requirements.⁹⁸ Given accelerated royal English and papal support for crusade, it is perhaps not surprising that the Westminster Psalter, housed at England’s crusading headquarters, would have been updated with imagery that referenced the holy war that both God and Henry III wanted. At the same time, the unknown artist refigured the psalter for posterity, as the generic nature of the knight, king, and archbishop drawings ensured that his intervention was not so much a commemorative act related to a particular crusade as it was an expression of enduring support for the military wing of the ongoing Christian mission.⁹⁹

With this study, I hope to have deepened our understanding of the Westminster Psalter drawings as direct responses to crusade, but not only that. I have also called attention to how even an undedicated work of art could have served a crusading agenda at a later point in its life. Perhaps we will discover other works of “retrospective crusade” among these five-odd centuries of medieval artistic production if we only resolve to look for them.



9.1 King, Westminster Psalter. Westminster, c. 1250. London, British Library, MS Royal 2 A. xxii, fol. 219v. © British Library Board.



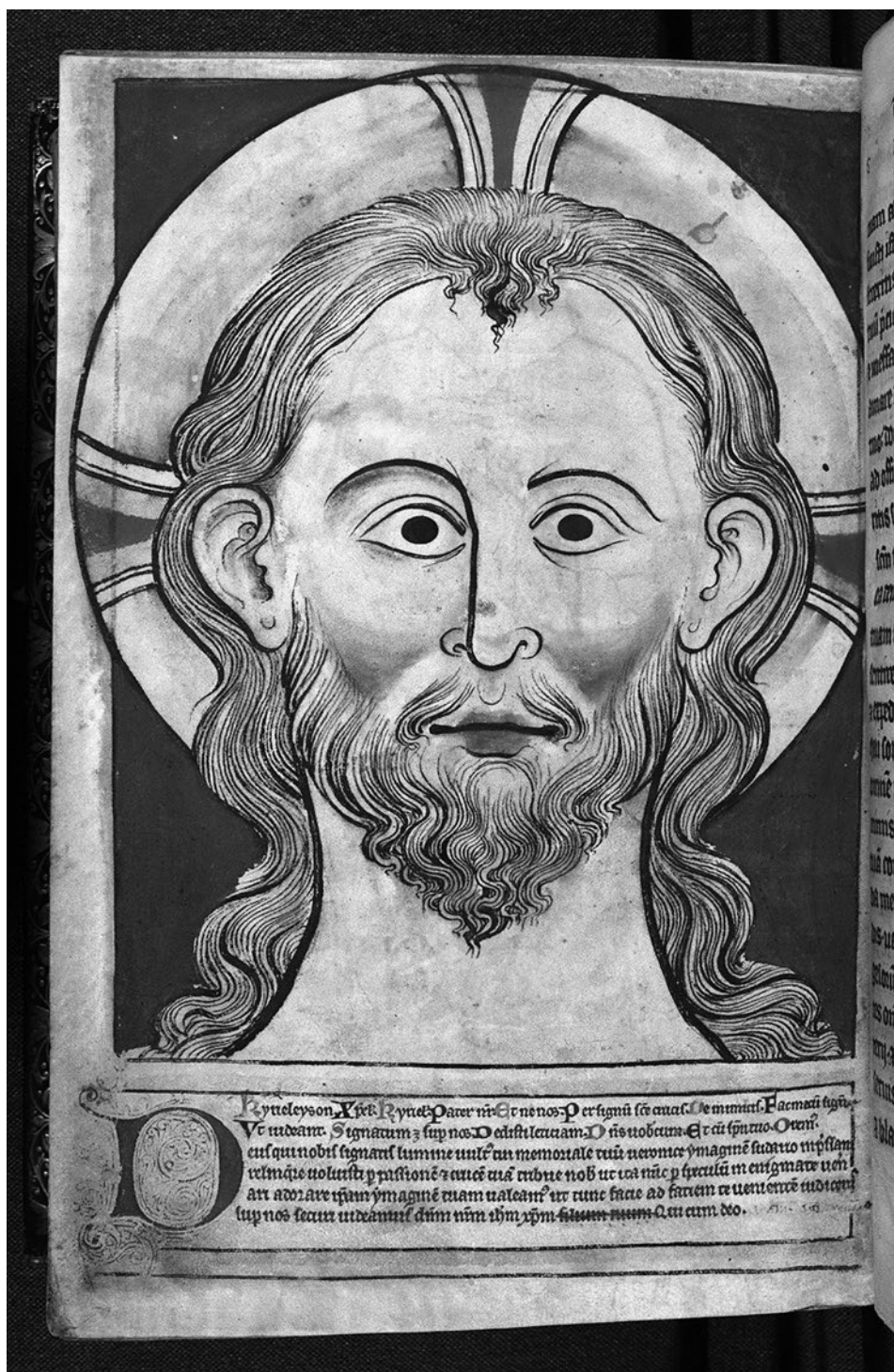
9.2 Knight, Westminster Psalter, fol. 220. © British Library Board.



9.3 St. Christopher, Westminster Psalter, fol. 220v. © British Library Board.



9.4 Archbishop, Westminster Psalter, fol. 221. © British Library Board.



9.5 Head of Christ (vernice), Westminster Psalter, fol. 221v. © British Library Board.

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Notes

- 1 London, British Library, MS Royal 2 A. xxii. A full description, bibliography, and digital facsimile are available on the British Library website, available at: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Royal_MS_2_A_XXII&index=0 [accessed September 12, 2014] On the relics, shrine, and cult of St. Edward, see Paul Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and Representation of Power 1200–1400* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 52–89.
- 2 It has been suggested that the original owner might have been either Abbot William Postard (r. 1191–1200) or his successor, Abbot Ralph de Arundel (r. 1200–14). See Richard W. Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 231; and *Royal Manuscripts: The Genius of Illumination*, (ed.) Scot McKendrick, John Lowden, and Kathleen Doyle (London: British Library, 2011) [exhibition catalogue], p. 118 (no. 12). The psalter is listed in the Westminster Abbey inventories of 1388 and 1540. See J.W. Legge, “On An Inventory of the Vestry in Westminster Abbey, Taken in 1388,” *Archaeologia* 52 (1890): pp. 195–286, at pp. 233–5; George F. Warner and Julius P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King’s Collections*, 4 vols. (London: British Museum, 1921), vol. 1, p. 30; *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, (ed.) N.R. Ker, 2nd ed. (London: Royal Historical Society, 1964), p. 196; and Pfaff, *Liturgy*, p. 229.
- 3 The other three full-page miniatures depict the Annunciation (fol. 12v), the Visitation (fol. 13), and the Virgin and Child (fol. 13v). On the Beatus page (fol. 15), Psalm 1 opens with a nearly full-page historiated initial.
- 4 Nigel Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts [III] 1250–1285* (London: Harvey Miller, 1988), pp. 49–50 (no. 95). It has been suggested that the artist might have been Brother William, an English Franciscan friar responsible for a drawing inserted by Matthew Paris into the *Liber Addamentorum*. See M.A. Michael, “Matthew Paris, Brother William, and St Marcella: Comments on the Added Leaf of the Apocalyptic Man in British Library MS Cotton Nero D.I,” in *Prophecy, Apocalypse, and the Day of Doom: Proceedings of the 2000 Harlaxton Symposium*, (ed.) Nigel Morgan (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2004), pp. 239–49. I thank the author for alerting me to his study. On Brother William, see also Suzanne Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), pp. 62–6.
- 5 Warner and Gilson, *Catalogue*, vol. 1, p. 37; M.R. James, “The Drawings of Matthew Paris,” *Walpole Society* 14 (1925–26): pp. 1–26, at p. 25. Paul Binski (*Westminster Abbey*, p. 81) suggested that the figure might represent St. George “sallying forth to battle” [sic], but the figure lacks an identifying inscription or requisite attributes of a dragon or a white banner or garment emblazoned with a single red cross.
- 6 The theoretical literature on this subject is large. My own approach is heavily informed by W.J.T. Mitchell, “What Do Pictures Want?” in *What Do Pictures Want? The Lives and Loves of Images* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), pp. 28–56; and Keith Moxey, “Critical Theory and the Cultural Life of Historical Images,” in *The Point of Theory: Practices of Cultural Analysis*, (ed.) Mieke Bal and Inge E. Boer (New York: Continuum, 1994), pp. 138–44.
- 7 On the “pluralist” and other analytical approaches to crusade, see Norman Housley, *Contesting the Crusades* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), pp. 1–23. A pluralist approach is taken by Jonathan Riley-Smith in *What Were the Crusades?*, 4th ed. (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2009).
- 8 Nigel Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts [I] 1190–1250* (London: Harvey Miller, 1982), p. 50 (no. 2).
- 9 On comparative pictorial cycles, see Mary Ann Farley and Francis Wormald, “Three Related English Romanesque Manuscripts,” *Art Bulletin* 22 (1940): pp. 157–61.
- 10 On the Hunterian Psalter (Glasgow, University Library, Sp Coll MS Hunter 229), see the Glasgow University Library Special Collections website. Available at: <http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/exhibns/>

- month/may2007.html [accessed September 12, 2014]. On the Shaftesbury Psalter (London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 383), see the British Library catalogue website. Available at: <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8825&CollID=15&NStart=3> [accessed September 12, 2014].
- 11 For overviews of their respective commissions, see *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200–1400*, (ed.) Jonathan Alexander and Paul Binski (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1987) [exhibition catalogue]; and Binski, *Westminster Abbey*.
 - 12 In the following summary, I have relied on Simon Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade 1216–1307* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988); and Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades 1095–1588* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).
 - 13 Lloyd, *English Society*, p. 33.
 - 14 The Holy Land focus was temporarily interrupted in 1255, when, after Henry landed on the wrong side of the Hohenstaufen, Pope Alexander and Henry promoted a crusade in Sicily against King Manfred, but Henry's involvement came to an abrupt halt with the baronial movement against the crown in 1258. See Björn K. Weiler, *Henry III of England and the Staufien Empire, 1216–1272* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), pp. 147–71.
 - 15 Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, (ed.) H. R. Luard, 7 vols. (London: Rolls Series, 1864–69), vol. 5, pp. 101–2; hereafter CM.
 - 16 On Longespée's crusade involvement, see Simon Lloyd, "Longespée, Sir William (II)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Available at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16984?docPos=2> [accessed August 27, 2014]. See also Simon Lloyd, "William Longespée II: The Making of an English Crusading Hero (Part 1)," *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 35 (1991): pp. 41–69, and Part 2, *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 36 (1992): pp. 79–125.
 - 17 A.J. Forey, "The Crusading Vows of the English King Henry III," *Durham University Journal* 65 (1973): pp. 229–47; Lloyd, *English Society*, pp. 232–43; Michael Prestwich, *Edward I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 326–35.
 - 18 William Chester Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade: A Study in Rulership* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), especially pp. 3–34; for a list of Louis IX's relics, see p. 108, n. 14. See also J.R. Strayer, "France: The Holy Land, the Chosen People, and the Most Christian King," in *Medieval Statecraft and the Perspectives of History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), pp. 300–14; and Daniel Weiss, *Art and Crusade in the Age of Saint-Louis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 11–52.
 - 19 Lloyd, *English Society*, pp. 198–200; Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 117; Matthew Reeve, "The Painted Chamber at Westminster, Edward I, and the Crusade," *Viator* 37 (2006): 189–221, at p. 211. A depiction of the duel between Saladin and Richard was also rendered on one of the Chertsey Tiles (London, British Museum), possibly made for Westminster Palace, which have been stylistically linked to the Westminster Psalter drawings (*Age of Chivalry*, p. 204 [no. 16]; Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts* [III], p. 50). See Roger Loomis, "Richard Coeur de Lion and the Pas Saladin in Medieval Art," *PMLA* 30 (1915): pp. 509–29.
 - 20 On the Holy Blood relic, see Nicholas Vincent, *The Holy Blood: King Henry III and the Westminster Blood Relic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
 - 21 Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, pp. 142–3. Matthew's illustration of the *passus Christi* appears in the *Historia Anglorum* (London, British Library, MS Royal 14 C.VII, fol. 146). See also CM 5.81–2, in which Matthew compares the footprint relic to the vernicle: one is an impression (*impressionem*) of Christ's foot, and the other is an impression of his face (see below); and Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, p. 130 and Figure 71.
 - 22 Corpus Christi College MS 16, fol. 215; CM 4.641–642. See Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, pp. 225–7 and Plate X (color).
 - 23 In addition to the Holy Blood and the marble footprint, Henry also gifted to Westminster a collection of relics of various saints. For the complete list, see Vincent, *Holy Blood*, p. 12.
 - 24 Vincent, *Holy Blood*, pp. 16, 37–8, 81.
 - 25 The following summary is based on Lloyd, *English Society*, pp. 51–2.
 - 26 On Innocent's crusader regulations, see James Brundage, "A Transformed Angel (X 3.31.18): The Problem of the Crusading Monk," in *Studies in Medieval Cistercian History Presented to Jeremiah F. O'Sullivan* (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1971), pp. 55–62.
 - 27 Christoph T. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994).
 - 28 E.W. Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting: The Thirteenth Century*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1950), vol. 1, pp. 155–6; Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts* [III], p. 49.

- 29 The collects appear on fols. 217v–218v.
- 30 Buskins were worn by secular men and women as well as high ranking members of the clergy; for example, they are also worn by the archbishop in the fourth Westminster Psalter drawing (see below). See Maria Hayward, “Buskins,” in *Encyclopedia of Dress and Textiles in the British Isles, 450–1450*, (ed.) Gale R. Owen-Crocker, Elizabeth Coatsworth, and Maria Hayward (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 104–5.
- 31 Except in heraldic contexts, the fleur-de-lys was a shared Western medieval decorative motif. On scepters in late medieval English art, see Kathryn A. Smith, “History, Typology and Homily: The Joseph Cycle in the Queen Mary Psalter,” *Gesta* 32 (1993): pp. 147–59.
- 32 M.R. James, “The Drawings of Matthew Paris,” *Walpole Society* 14 (1925–26): pp. 1–26, at p. 25; Tristram, *English Medieval Painting*, vol. 1, p. 155.
- 33 St. Edward the Confessor’s name is rendered in gold on the calendar on 4 January (fol. 5) to mark his death date and in gold a second time on October 13 (fol. 9v) to mark the date of the translation of his relics (in 1163), which is his feast day. His name (*S[an]c[t]e A[le]dward*) was written in ordinary black ink towards the middle of the folio, at the beginning of the list of confessors in the litany (fol. 182). A prayer described in the earlier literature and on the current British Library website as “special prayers to Edward the Confessor and Peter” is actually a supplication to the all-powerful and eternal Lord that evokes Saints Peter, Paul, Edward the Confessor (*gloriosus rege aedwardo confessore*), the angels, and the community of other saints for protection from demons, enemies, fire, suffering, destruction, and disease (fol. 186).
- 34 On the mural, see Paul Binski, *The Painted Chamber at Westminster* (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1986), pp. 38–40.
- 35 For example, St. Edward holds the ring in the mural painted opposite the bed in Henry III’s private chambers in Westminster Palace, as he does on the Wilton Diptych made for Richard III around 1395 (London, National Gallery). See L.E. Tanner, “Representations of St. Edward the Confessor in Westminster Abbey and Elsewhere,” *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3d ser., 15 (1952): pp. 1–12. See also Binski, *Painted Chamber*, p. 40; and Dillian Gordon, *Making and Meaning: The Wilton Diptych* (London, National Gallery, 1993), pp. 54–5.
- 36 The saint’s headcovering is described as a “kerchief” in James, “Drawings of Matthew Paris,” p. 25; but in my opinion, it is better identified as a saracenic turban which operates as a reference to Christopher’s non-Christian origins. See Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), pp. 157–209.
- 37 Jacobus da Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), vol. 2, p. 11; hereafter *Golden Legend*.
- 38 The Westminster Abbey wall painting of Saint Christopher is positioned next to another mural of the Incredulity of Thomas. See Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting*, vol 1, pp. 85, 155, 360; and vol. 2, Plate 12.
- 39 *Golden Legend*, vol. 2, p. 12.
- 40 The relic is recorded in the chronicle of John Flete, prior of Westminster c. 1457–65 (cited in Vincent, *Holy Blood*, p. 12, n. 19).
- 41 Designated *S[an]c[t]e [Christ]ofore* (fol. 182).
- 42 Janet Mayo has provided the fullest description of the figure, which I quote here in full: “Here the archbishop is wearing full pontificals. His status can be identified by the cross staff he is carrying and the narrow pallium decorated with small crosses which he wears above all his vestments around his shoulders and hanging pendant down the centre front (a bishop carries a pastoral staff and does not wear the pallium). All the other vestments are common to bishops as well. He wears a mitre with orphreys and two lappets or infulae hanging down behind. He has gloves and a ring (*annulus*) on the fourth finger of the right hand, and a pair of buskins, the embroidered stockings which were like soft cloth boots. The stole is hidden by the tunicle, but the maniple can be seen suspended from the left wrist decorated in the same manner as the border of the dalmatic and the apparel of the amice, and finishing off with a fringe. The alb and the amice are both embellished with apparels, although in different designs, the apparel of the alb being stitched in a long panel at the hem. Both the tunicle and the dalmatic are split up the side for ease of movement, the tunicle being here trimmed with a fringe and the dalmatic not (although the fringe is generally proper to the latter vestment). The dalmatic is made of the most elaborate fabric, which is also traditional, and in this example the chasuble is completely plain. Oddly, the sleeve of the dalmatic loses the pattern—this can be seen on the left arm, and the sleeve of the tunicle (only visible on the right-hand blessing) has a dark border or apparel. The pallium, which is extraordinarily narrow, has been added to the figure as an afterthought, sketched in over the drapery of the chasuble and unfinished at the bottom” (Janet Mayo, *A History of Ecclesiastical Dress* [New York: Holmes & Meier, 1984], p. 45).
- 43 Mayo, *History of Ecclesiastical Dress*, p. 40.

- 44 James, "Drawings of Matthew Paris," p. 25; Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting*, vol. 1, p. 155.
- 45 Henry gifted to Westminster Abbey parts of Becket's clothing, blood, and his ebony comb (Vincent, *Holy Blood*, 12). On Edmund, see Vincent, *Holy Blood*, pp. 9–10. On Becket, see Anne J. Duggan, "The Cult of St Thomas Becket in the Thirteenth Century," in *St Thomas Cantilupe Bishop of Hereford: Essays in His Honour*, (ed.) Meryl Jancey (Hereford: Friends of Hereford Cathedral Publications, 1982), pp. 21–44; reprinted in Anne Duggan, *Thomas Becket: Friends, Networks, Texts and Cult* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), Chapter IX.
- 46 See James Brundage, "Crusades, Clerics and Violence: Reflections on a Canonical Theme," *The Experience of Crusading, 1: Western Approaches*, (ed.) Marcus Bull and Norman Housley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 147–56.
- 47 Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 57–85.
- 48 Lloyd, *English Society*, p. 45.
- 49 Vincent, *Holy Blood*, p. 38.
- 50 On Henry's intense piety, see Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, p. 144; and Vincent, *Holy Blood*, pp. 35–8.
- 51 On Matthew's image, see Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, pp. 126–31; and Alexa Sand, *Vision, Devotion, and Self-Representation in Late Medieval Art* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 38–50.
- 52 Veronica was the name assigned to the woman cured by Jesus of the issue of blood as recorded in the Gospels (Matt. 9:20–22, Mark 5:25–34; Luke 8:43–48). On the artistic tradition of the Holy Face, see Sand, *Vision*, pp. 27–83. On the medieval concept of copies, see Gary Vikan, "Ruminations on Edible Icons: Originals and Copies in the Art of Byzantium," in *Retaining the Original: Multiple Originals, Copies, and Reproductions* (Washington: National Gallery, 1989), pp. 47–59.
- 53 *Golden Legend*, vol. 1, p. 212. During the fourteenth century, a competing legend developed in which Jesus wiped his face and left his image on Veronica's cloth when she offered it to him on the way to Calvary. Thereafter, the vernicle was categorized among the instruments of the Passion (*arma Christi*). See Ewa Kuryluk, *Veronica and Her Cloth: History, Symbolism, and Structure of a "True" Image* (Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, 1991), pp. 114–42.
- 54 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 16, fol. 49v; CM 3.7–8. See also Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, pp. 126–30.
- 55 See Flora Lewis, "The Veronica: Image, Legend and Viewer," in *England in the Thirteenth Century*, (ed.) W.M. Ormrod (Stamford: Watkins, 1991), pp. 100–107, and Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), pp. 215–24.
- 56 Westminster Psalter, fol. 221v. The indulgence was recorded by Matthew Paris (as in n. 54, above). For a discussion and transcription of the office and indulgence that accompanies an image of the veronica in a c. 1275–85 French psalter-hours (New York, Morgan Library, MS M. 729, fol. 15) whose text is very close to that recorded by Matthew, see Karen Gould, *The Psalter and Hours of Yolande of Soissons* (Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1978), pp. 81–94; sans indulgence, the Westminster Psalter text is nearly identical. For other comparative texts, see Sand, *Vision*, pp. 81–3.
- 57 Henry III visited St Albans, where Matthew resided, at least nine times, and he also summoned the artist-chronicler to court to witness and record the presentation of the Holy Blood at Westminster Abbey, as noted above. See Richard Vaughan, *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), pp. 3–4, 12–13, 124.
- 58 Westminster Psalter, fols. 212–224v.
- 59 "D[omi]ne exaudi oratione[m] mea[m]" (Westminster Psalter, fol. 116).
- 60 See James Brundage, "'Cruce Signari': The Rite for Taking the Cross in England," *Traditio* 22 (1966): pp. 289–310; and M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, "From Pilgrimage to Crusade: The Liturgy of Departure, 1095–1300," *Speculum* 88 (2013): pp. 44–91.
- 61 On the Edessa mandylion, see Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, pp. 208–18. On the extent to which the images of the vernicle might have looked like the "original," see Lewis, "The Veronica," pp. 104–7.
- 62 Examples include the detached leaves from a life of St. Thomas Becket (London, British Library); the *Life of St Albans* (Dublin, Trinity College, MS E.i.40); a volume containing William Peraldus's *Summa* of Vice and a bestiary (London, British Library, MS Harley 3244), which includes the famous mounted knight diagram (fol. 28); and the Morgan Apocalypse (New York, Morgan Library, MS 524). See Janet Backhouse and Christopher de Hamel, *The Becket Leaves* (London, British Library, 1988); Jocelyn Wogan-Browne et al., *The Life of St Albans by Matthew Paris* (Tempe, AZ: ACMRS, 2010); Michael Evans, "An Illustrated Fragment of Peraldus's *Summa* of Vice: Harleian MS 3244," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 45 (1982): pp. 14–16; and (on the

- Morgan Apocalypse and related manuscripts) Suzanne Lewis, *Reading Images: Narrative Discourse and Reception in the Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Apocalypse* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). On tinted drawing style more generally, see also Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*.
- 63 Warner and Gilson, *Catalogue*, vol. 1, p. 37. This description is repeated nearly verbatim on the British Library catalogue website. The figure has also been identified simply as a knight; see for example Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts III*, 49 (no. 95).
 - 64 I owe most of the following observations to Ralph Moffat. For a brief overview of armor and weaponry of this period, which took the same forms across Western Europe, see Stephen N. Fliegel, "The Art of War: Thirteenth-Century Arms and Armor," in *The Book of Kings: Art, War, and the Morgan Library's Medieval Picture Bible*, (ed.) William Noel and Daniel Weiss (Baltimore: The Walters Art Gallery, 2002), pp. 83–97.
 - 65 I thank Matt Strickland for the observation that the drawing includes the suggestion of solid body armor, perhaps made of stiff leather, beneath the surcoat. Ralph Moffat has observed that ailettes are often distorted in two-dimensional works of art, which tend to show them facing front when they should face to the side ("Ailette," in *Encyclopedia of Dress and Textiles*, p. 28). I note in this instance that the knight's ailette, if that is what it represents, is correctly positioned, but I provide an alternative reading of this feature below.
 - 66 The flower-shaped pommel of the Westminster knight's sword may be identified as Oakeshott Type Q, of which there are no surviving archaeological examples. See Ewart Oakeshott, *The Sword in the Age of Chivalry*, rev. ed. (London: Arms and Armour Press, 1981), p. 99. See also Jean de Joinville's description of crusading swords in Ewart Oakeshott, *The Archaeology of the Weapon* (New York: Dover, 1996), p. 201.
 - 67 Leslie Southwick, "The Great Helm in England," *Arms & Armour* 3 (2006): pp. 5–77, at pp. 11–12, 15–18 and Figures. 10, 15. See also Alexander and Binski, *Age of Chivalry*, 316 (no. 276).
 - 68 Lloyd, *English Society*, pp. 18–19; Housley, *Contesting the Crusades*, p. 48. See also Rachel Dressler, *Of Armor and Men in Medieval England: The Chivalric Rhetoric of Three English Knights' Effigies* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 78–97. On women's involvement in crusades, see Christoph T. Maier, "The Roles of Women in the Crusade Movement: A Survey," *Journal of Medieval History* 30 (2004): pp. 61–82.
 - 69 Gaposchkin, "From Pilgrimage to Crusade," pp. 46–7.
 - 70 Humbert of Romans, *De Eruditione Praedicatorum*, sermon II, 1–2, 6–7, 9, 10; cited in Christoph Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 56.
 - 71 Maier, *Crusade Propaganda*, p. 57.
 - 72 Gaposchkin, "From Pilgrimage to Crusade," pp. 55–61.
 - 73 James of Vitry, *Sermones vulgares* II, 43; cited in Maier, *Crusade Propaganda*, p. 58.
 - 74 Anne E. Lester, *Creating Cistercian Nuns: The Women's Religious Movement and Its Reform in Thirteenth-Century Champagne* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 2011), p. 162. I thank Elizabeth Robertson for bringing this study to my attention.
 - 75 Suzanne Lewis, "Henry III and the Gothic Rebuilding of Westminster Abbey: The Problematics of Context," *Traditio* 50 (1995): pp. 129–72, especially pp. 168–72.
 - 76 Evans, "An Illustrated Fragment," p. 28.
 - 77 J.J.G. Alexander, "Ideological Representation of Military Combat in Anglo-Norman Art," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 15 (1992): pp. 1–24.
 - 78 Katherine Allen Smith, "Saints in Shining Armor: Martial Asceticism and Masculine Models of Sanctity, c. 1050–1250," *Speculum* 83 (2008): pp. 572–602, at p. 574; on the term, *loricati*, used to designate male saints who wear the *lorica* (translated variously as "hauberk," "mail shirt," or "breastplate"), see p. 573, n. 2 and p. 576, n. 14.
 - 79 Smith, "Saints," p. 576.
 - 80 Smith, "Saints," p. 597. See Wilbur Gafney, "The Allegory of the Christ Knight in Piers Plowman," *PMLA* 46 (1931): pp. 155–68; and Lawrence Warner, "Jesus the Joustier," *Yearbook of Langland Studies* 10 (1996): pp. 129–43.
 - 81 Of the feet washing, Christ is recorded as saying, "If I then being your Lord and Master, have washed your feet; you also ought to wash one another's feet. For I have given you an example, that as I have done to you, so you do also" (John 13:14–15).
 - 82 New York, Morgan Library, MS G. 25. Meyer Schapiro, "An Illuminated English Psalter of the Early Thirteenth Century," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 23 (1960): pp. 179–89;

- reprinted in Meyer Schapiro, *Late Antique, Early Christian and Mediaeval Art: Selected Papers* (New York: George Braziller, 1979), pp. 329–54.
- 83 Lloyd, *English Society*, p. 68.
- 84 William Chester Jordan, "The Rituals of War: Departure for Crusade in Thirteenth-Century France," in Noel and Weiss, *The Book of Kings*, pp. 99–105, at p. 104.
- 85 Benedict of Peterborough, *The Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard I*, 2 vols, (ed.) William Stubbs (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1897), vol. 2, pp. 53–4.
- 86 Amnon Linder, "'Deus venerunt gentes': Psalm 78 (79) in the Liturgical Commemoration of the Destruction of Latin Jerusalem," in *Medieval Studies in Honour of Avrom Saltman*, (ed.) Bat-Sheva Albert et al. (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1995), pp. 145–71.
- 87 Linder, "Deus venerunt gentes," p. 153.
- 88 Maier, *Crusade Propaganda*, pp. 32–43. The Old Testament crusader metaphor is discussed in relation to Edward I's artistic commissions in Reeve, "Painted Chamber." For representations of David as a soldier in medieval art, see *King David in the Index of Christian Art*, (ed.) Colum Hourihane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), pp. 384–6.
- 89 New York, Morgan Library, MS 638. The manuscript is dated between 1244 and 1254. See Daniel Weiss, "Portraying the Past, Illuminating the Present: The Art of the Morgan Library Picture Book," in Noel and Weiss, *Book of Kings*, pp. 11–35.
- 90 Hourihane, *King David*, p. xxiii.
- 91 For an overview, see J.A. Watt, "The Crusades and the Persecution of the Jews," in *The Medieval World*, (ed.) Peter Linehan and Janet L. Nelson (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 146–62.
- 92 Lloyd, *English Society*, p. 213. See also Gavin Langmuir, "The Knight's Tale of Young Hugh of Lincoln," *Speculum* 47 (1972): pp. 459–82.
- 93 See Robert Stacey, "The English Jews under Henry III," in *The Jews of Medieval Britain: Historical, Literary and Archaeological Perspectives*, (ed.) Patricia Skinner (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2003), pp. 41–54.
- 94 See Robin R. Mundill, *England's Jewish Solution, 1262–1290* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
- 95 On different cultural concepts of time, see Keith Moxey, *Visual Time: The Image in History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013), especially pp. 2–3, 13–16, 174–5.
- 96 This point has been made by Amnon Linder in relation to liturgical manuscripts more generally ("Deus venerunt gentes," p. 159).
- 97 Lilian Randall, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966); Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge* (London: Reaktion, 1992), pp. 11–55.
- 98 On the manuscript evidence for thirteenth-century liturgical additions, see Linder, "Deus venerunt gentes," pp. 159–62.
- 99 On the relationship between the crusades and the Christian mission, see A. Katzenellenbogen, "The Central Tympanum at Vézelay: Its Encyclopedic Meaning and Its Relationship to the First Crusade," *Art Bulletin* 26 (1944): pp. 141–51.

The Visual Vernacular: Illustrating Jean de Vignay's "Crusade" Translations

Maureen Quigley

British Library Royal MS 19 D I is a compilation closely associated with Philip VI of Valois' crusade project of 1333–37. Illuminated throughout, the miscellany incorporates both traditional and contemporary travel romances and chronicles with topics appropriate for knights and courtiers preparing to leave for foreign lands.¹ Scholarship to date has focused on the most popular and most broadly illuminated texts in the codex, the Old French Alexander in prose and the journeys of Marco Polo. Underexplored by art historians, yet equally revealing about the production and reception of the manuscript, is the series of four shorter treatises translated by the royal translator Jean de Vignay, namely Odoric's *Merveilles de la terre d'Outremer*, the journeys of John of Plano Carpini, the crusade passages in the *Directoire a faire le passage de la Terre Sainte*, and excerpts of the life of St. Louis from Primat's *Chronique*.

Since D.J.A. Ross first identified this manuscript as a Parisian workshop production, with its "rather clumsy miniatures" full of "a certain primitive charm," scholars such as Richard and Mary Rouse have addressed the intriguing questions of how this manuscript came to be made and by whom.² Focusing on codicology and style, Ross and the Rouses have determined that the manuscript was produced in Paris in the Montbaston workshop during the 1330s, most likely by the hand of Jeanne de Montbaston.³ Ross, the Rouses, and Vignay scholar Christine Knowles further acknowledge the crusading context of the manuscript, based not only on the inclusion of the *Directoire a faire le passage de la Terre Sainte*, an instruction manual dedicated to Philip VI that proposed specific advice on how to manage a successful crusade program, but also on the deliberate compiling of texts that together would inspire a reader's interest in foreign travel and battle.⁴ The Rouses, in discussing a different compilation, have identified the question that underlies my own thesis regarding Royal 19 D I: can histories, romances, and travel chronicles without overt crusading context develop crusading impact? The answer they provide is that "given the proper surroundings, indeed they can."⁵ Certainly the compilers of 19 D I joined the texts wisely to create an

appropriate metanarrative “surrounding” for an interested potential crusader, but I would like to redirect interest in that shared textual appropriateness toward a shared visual appropriateness. This manuscript was not just read, it was looked at, and it is at least partially in the looking that the individual treatises become a unified whole.

Rather than focus solely on the choice of texts or the well-studied scribal directions described by Ross and the Rouses, I wish to revisit Ross’s interest in the compilation process and, in particular, the appearance of the Vignay translations as a visual group.⁶ The uneven distribution of miniatures throughout the manuscript (see Table 10.1) has led to a greater scholarly interest in the more generously illuminated Alexander and Marco Polo texts with the remaining works forming something of an afterthought. I will show that the Vignay translations form a third significant unit within the manuscript worthy of equivalent art historical study.⁷ Indeed, it is this visual group, I argue, that takes the miscellany from a popular commercial product available to the generally interested courtly market to an intimate gift from a courtier to a “crusader” king.

Each of the texts and translations included in the compilation is illustrated, even if sparingly (see Table 10.1). The prose Alexander and *Venjançe* texts include 103 of the 164 miniatures.⁸ Compared to the 38 in the Marco Polo, the 11 and 8 of the *Chronique* and the *Directoire* respectively, the two of the *Bible historiale*, and the one each of the remaining texts, the variation is easily noted. Codicological analysis shows that the manuscript was assembled at the same time and, given the numerous illustrator’s marginal guides (Ross has noted sketches or obvious rubbings next to 132 of the 164 miniatures), the visual program was perhaps likewise conceived as a whole, which makes the inconsistent density of illustrations more notable.⁹ If the commercial aspect of Royal 19 D I in the Montbaston workshop is to be emphasized, then it becomes clear when looking at the gatherings that the Alexander romances, the Marco Polo, and Vignay’s “book within a book,” were likely prepared as unique units, as each begins with a new gathering and with a two-column miniature

Table 10.1 Miniature Distribution in British Library Royal 19 D 1

Text	Folios	Number of miniatures
<i>La vrai hystoire du bon roi Alixandre</i>	1–46v	102
<i>Venjançe d’Alexandre</i>	47–57	1
<i>Li livres du Grant Caam</i>	58–135	38
* <i>Merveilles de la terre d’Outremer</i>	136–48v	1
* <i>Miroir historial</i>	148v–65v	1
* <i>Directoire a faire le passage de la Terre Sainte</i>	165v–92v	8
* <i>Chronique</i> (Life of St. Louis)	192v–251v	11
<i>Bible historiale</i>	252–67v	2

Note: Texts in italics include a “frontispiece” miniature. Texts with an asterisk (*) are Vignay translations.

that functions as a frontispiece. Yet the units were ultimately joined together to create a full picture of foreign travel and battle specifically intended for Philip VI.

Opening with a two-column miniature that includes a portrait of Jean de Vignay presenting his text to Philip VI, the Vignay translation group provides the real connection between this manuscript and the king's interest in crusade. This functional frontispiece, appearing as it does in the middle of the compiled manuscript, focuses the reader's attention on the importance of the texts to follow. As Dhira Mahoney has observed, the appearance of a presentation/donation portrait at the front of a text "perpetually invokes the presence of the author, authorizing the work and validating the offering of it."¹⁰ So while the abundantly illustrated non-Vignay texts that appear first in the compilation might provide visual pleasure for any reader of this book, the presentation frontispiece appearing in the middle—and there is a second presentation scene to follow in the Vignay group—would have drawn the special attention of a specific reader: the one being depicted. Replacing, perhaps, any actual presentation event in which Jean de Vignay physically passed the book into the king's hands, the image provides an everlasting reminder of Vignay's translation work for and to Philip VI.¹¹ The first appearance of the king's own visual representation, arriving as it does in the middle of the compilation, acts to compare the king's endeavors to the illustrious rulers and travelers to exotic lands who come before him in this manuscript.

Those royal endeavors are well known to students of the crusades. In the year 1330, the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem requested help from the French king in reclaiming the Holy Land for Christians.¹² Philip VI took the cross in a public ceremony in 1331 and, until official dissolution of the project in 1337, actively pursued the practicalities of foreign war. To the members of the new Valois court, crusading as a practical military exercise had become a romantic ideal, present only in the deeds of their ancestors as found in texts like Jean de Joinville's *Vie de St. Louis*,¹³ the *Grandes chroniques de France* owned by Philip's son, John the Duke of Normandy,¹⁴ William of Tyre's *Histoire d'Outremer*,¹⁵ and the *Vie et miracles de St. Louis* by Guillaume de Saint-Pathus.¹⁶ Illuminated manuscript production in Paris further made the exploits of historical French kings visually vibrant and the equal to those of the great warrior heroes of classical and biblical history.¹⁷ Yet these chronicles, while serving as mirrors for behavior, did not necessarily offer practical military advice to a contemporary reader. In order to establish the efficacy of taking a crusade overseas, the French king convened a council that solicited and received advice from those experienced in foreign warfare. Christopher Tyerman has identified potential members of this non-permanent council as high-ranking members of court and has further identified several treatises that were intended for the council's consideration.¹⁸ Notable crusaders and courtiers, including Marino Sanudo Torsello and the queen's own physician Guido da Vigevano, provided treatises on the practical requirements of pursuing crusade in the Holy Land, and, of course, Jean de Vignay made some of these treatises available to the court through his vernacular translations.

Perhaps connected to the instructions of the council, Jean de Vignay was given the task of translating several Latin treatises with military themes into the French vernacular, in order to make them available to a broad courtly audience.¹⁹ Even before the declaration of crusade, Vignay had already been responsible for the translation of the most popular military-themed treatise of the day for the Valois king. Vignay's translation of the *De Re Militari* by Vegetius came early in his career and was completed before Philip's accession to the throne.²⁰ The exceptionally popular Latin text dedicated to the Roman emperor was an appropriate read for a military-minded prince like Philip of Valois and recent scholarship has identified the attractiveness of this treatise in a crusading context.²¹ Vignay's version does not seem to have been an overly popular translation at the broader Valois court; nonetheless, two manuscripts of this vernacular text are illuminated by the same artist as Royal 19 D I, indicating perhaps an important direct connection between the Montbaston workshop and the royal translator beyond Royal 19 D I.²²

Equally important to the establishment of Vignay's translation responsibilities for the Valois court is a second military treatise, the *Enseignements* of Theodore Paleologus, son of the emperor of Constantinople.²³ Written originally in Greek and translated by Paleologus himself into Latin in 1326, the *Enseignements* were addressed specifically to rulers who pursued foreign battle. Vignay dedicated his French translation, dated to around 1335, to Philip VI, wishing the king "joy, peace and health of the body and the spirit, and victory over all [his] enemies."²⁴ Only two fourteenth-century manuscripts of this translation remain, the earlier belonging to Philip the Bold of Burgundy, grandson of Philip VI.²⁵ Although the dearth of remaining manuscripts suggests that Vignay's translations of the Vegetius and of the *Enseignements* were not overly popular beyond a Valois readership, nonetheless it is clear that interest in practical military advice was prevalent at court.

Royal 19 D I reinforces Vignay's role as a court translator with expertise in military writing. Conjecture about the compiling of this book has naturally focused on Vignay since his translations formulate fully half of the texts of the miscellany. Yet it cannot be ignored that likewise fully half of the texts are not of his work. The unavoidable fact that the preponderance of images appears in works not associated with the translator draws into question Vignay's role with the compilation. Yet I contend that Vignay's influence can be seen not only in the compilation of his own works, but also in the wise decision to take advantage of the popular Alexander Romance and the new courtly interest in Marco Polo's journeys to aggrandize his translations for his Valois patrons. The abundant images in these popular texts draw the viewer into the manuscript and the format establishes the expectation for important texts to open with a two-column frontispiece followed by single-column miniatures.

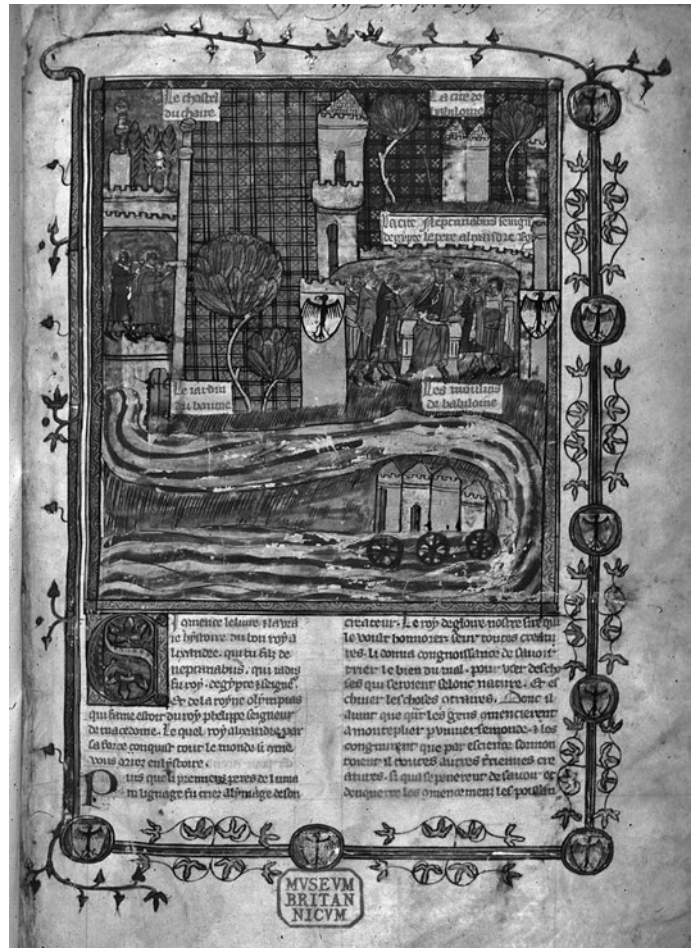
The primarily single-column, 12-line miniatures of this compilation are exemplified in the Alexander Romance where they appear typically one or two per folio. In fact, through folio 45 recto, there is at least one and up to five miniatures per opening with the exception of only one opening lacking miniatures. The numerous miniatures display the fantastic journey of

Alexander the Great to foreign lands and the wonders he beheld there, such as monstrous cows, one-eyed giants, and the slightly less exotic elephants. Alexander's encounters with the Other is typically presented without reference to a real landscape, which is replaced with diapered squares and lozenges. This type of background patterning is found throughout the entire manuscript. As shown by Ross, the Alexander text had a prototype for its visual program, which was likely available in the manuscript's Parisian workshop.²⁶ Although the proposed prototype no longer exists, several illuminated programs found in roughly contemporary editions may be compared to the version in the British Library. This can be seen especially in the frontispiece to the Alexander, which appears in close variations in other manuscripts of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.²⁷

The frontispiece on folio one, which is one of only three illuminations in Royal 19 D I to extend through two columns, establishes the importance of the romance through both its placement in the compilation and its impressive illustration (Figure 10.1). Its size and narrative nature makes clear that it was the planned first image of the manuscript. The miniature displays and textually identifies the historical sites of Cairo, including the Castle of Cairo, the city of Babylon (or Old Cairo), the garden of balm with its balsam trees, and the mills of Babylon. The stylized presentation of the city of Cairo, displaying the only real topographic presentation of a known place in the manuscript, serves not only as the site of the opening for Alexander's story, but also as a likely spot to be visited by any crusading army. This illustration shows off the great tourist spots of the ancient city, known to a courtly Parisian audience whose interest in exotic travel had been piqued by the upcoming crusade. The miniature functionally connects the modern day interest in specific foreign travel to the wanderings of the romantic hero.²⁸

Beyond the Alexander Romance program, though, the illuminators of this compilation were responsible for creating their own visual commentaries on the text with the result that the less well known the text—and, I believe, the less potentially popular the Parisian

10.1 The City of Cairo, London, British Library, Royal 19 D I, fol. 1. © British Library Board.



booksellers thought it would become—the less time they spent in establishing a visual program. Here I differ from Ross's contention that sporadic payments on the part of the patron were the cause of the weighted illumination program of the manuscript as a whole.²⁹ Thus the *Voyages of Niccolo and Maffeo Polo*, a contemporary travelogue with great potential for future popularity, receives special attention from the rubricator, who has provided careful details for the illuminator. That the illuminator has paid close attention to the rubrics, but not necessarily the text, in creating the new motifs is made obvious in the famous visual “mistakes” in this section. Perhaps the most famous example presents the “two brothers” Niccolo and Maffeo receiving golden tablets of safe passage from the Great Khan as, in fact, two “brothers” or friars receiving a golden table from the Khan.³⁰

Nonetheless, interest in Marco Polo's voyages was growing, due in part to political connections of Philip VI's father, Charles of Valois. The redaction of Polo's text that was chosen for Royal 19 D I was one that the crusader Thiébault de Cépoys gave to Charles, who claimed to get his account from Marco Polo himself.³¹ The appearance of this text in Royal 19 D I, which

seems to be the earliest illuminated version of this redaction in France, implies an important place for the manuscript with the royal court. In its three-part, two-columned frontispiece on folio 58 the Polo brothers, Niccolo and Maffeo, appear successively before the Christian emperor and patriarch of Constantinople before setting sail to the East (Figure 10.2). In this second of the two textual frontispieces to extend two columns, the artist—again not following the text exactly—establishes a soon-to-be repeated theme of departure for foreign lands with the authority of both secular and religious leaders. The top register, divided into two, shows the Polo brothers approaching the emperor of Constantinople and kneeling before the patriarch. Below, the brothers and their company depart from the city by ship. Like the Alexander before it, the Marco Polo program is made

10.2 Nicholas and Maffeo Polo Depart for the East, London, British Library, Royal 19 D I, fol. 58. © British Library Board.



of single-column miniatures that provide a visual recounting of the people the merchants met on their journeys. Interestingly, the artist emphasizes the numerous encounters that the Polo brothers had with Kublai Khan, the leader of the Mongols. This contact, as will be made clear in the text of John of Plano Carpini, held crusader undertones and the visual emphasis on Mongols in non-“crusade” texts in Royal 19 D I is likely not a coincidence.

At last turning to the Vignay translations, we see that Vignay, a Hospitaller of the Order of St. Jacques du Haut Pas, continued his expertise in military translations by focusing two of his four works on the military, specifically on foreign crusade. These are the *Directoire* and the *Chronique/Life of St. Louis* excerpts. The other two texts, the *Merveilles* of Odoric of Pordenone and the *Miroir Historiale/History of the Mongols* by John of Plano Carpini focus more on foreign travel; although as will be shown, these, too, share content that lends themselves to a crusading context. The four Vignay texts are unique to this compilation or found in only a few other manuscripts.³²

The first to be included in the compilation, the travels of Friar Odoric of Pordenone, makes a perfect foil to the romantic/historic and romantic/mercantile journeys of Alexander and Marco Polo that precede it.³³ Providing a recent eyewitness account of mendicant travels to the East, the *Merveilles de la terre d'Outremer* like its predecessors in the codex allows its reader to envision not just the peoples of foreign lands, but the lands themselves. Antonio Garcia Espada connects the practice of travel journalism at the turn of the fourteenth century with *De recuperatione* literature—those treatises dedicated to the recovery of the Holy Land following the fall of Acre in 1291.³⁴ Garcia Espada makes an important point that I would like to expand upon visually. *De recuperatione* literature was commissioned by or dedicated to high level councils (whether papal or royal) and was produced by intellectuals and experienced expatriate citizens of the Latin kingdoms. It focused on practical advice, such as how to move troops and weaponry across well-known geography; yet, like the observational travel literature of proselytizing mendicants and entrepreneurial merchants, *De recuperatione* treatises relied on eyewitness observation—and those eyewitnesses were not necessarily members of the elite circles that commissioned their input. It was the joining of those forms of literature that strengthened the case of all authors.

Odoric's *Merveilles*, already established as being textually appropriate as a follower to the romance and travelogue, opens with its only image, a two-column quadripartite miniature that serves as a frontispiece to all of the Vignay texts. Echoing the imagery of the Polo text, in this last of the three two-column frontispieces, the Franciscan and Dominican travelers have an audience with the pope in the upper left quadrant before their departure by sea in the lower right.³⁵ Here, though, the travelers are joined by the translator in the bottom left and upper right quadrants writing and presenting his text to the king—who should be understood as Philip VI himself (Figure 10.3). While Philip is presented rather generically with a red robe and pink cloak, Jean de Vignay is identified by the notable Tau cross on his shoulder: this is the sign of the Order of the Hospital of St. Jacques du Haut Pas, an order dedicated

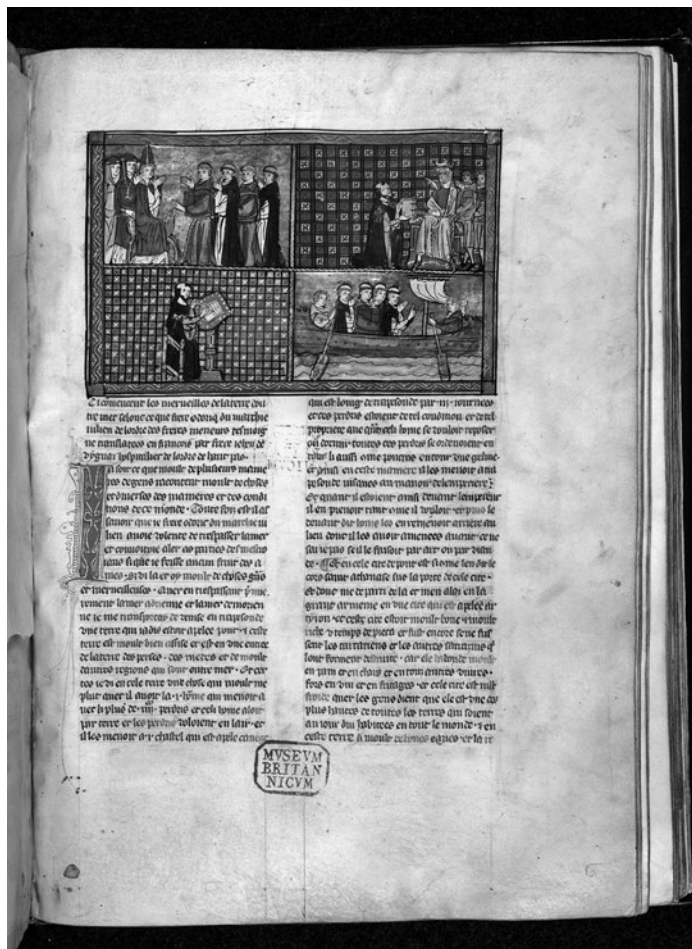
to the care of pilgrims and crusaders.³⁶ This particularly “crusade-like” presentation of the Hospitaller should be compared to another contemporary representation of this same translator with a patron. The double-presentation scene found in Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal MS 5080, folio 1, famously mirrors the commission and writing of the *Speculum Historiale*/Miroir historial with Louis IX and Vincent of Beauvais on the left and Jeanne of Burgundy, wife of Philip VI, and Jean de Vignay on the right.³⁷ In this image, Vignay is represented tonsured, but wearing an undistinguished gray robe. The choice on the part of the Royal 19 D I artist to represent the translator with the distinctive Tau emphasizes Vignay’s membership in the crusade order. This emphasis is more than appropriate when realizing that this two-column miniature serves to introduce the third distinct metatext of the compilation: the Vignay group.

Following the *Merveilles* comes a similar travel journal by Friar John of Plano Carpini, as excerpted from Vincent of Beauvais’s *Speculum Historiale*. While there has been some confusion over whether the Royal 19 D I translation

belongs to Jean de Vignay, since it does not perfectly match his better known versions, Laurent Brun and Mattia Cavagna accept this translation.³⁸ The primary focus of the text is to describe the military status of the Mongols in the 1240s. Friar John had been sent by the pope to ascertain whether the Mongols, who had recently entered into the boundaries of eastern Europe, would become a threat to western European powers.³⁹ To a fourteenth-century reader, the Mongols were known as one-time allies in the crusades against the Muslims in Syria. John of Plano Carpini’s recounting of his experiences in the East, while approximately 100 years removed from Philip VI’s court, nevertheless provided a suitable crusade-themed passage in the compilation.

A single-column miniature approximately two-thirds of the way through the first column

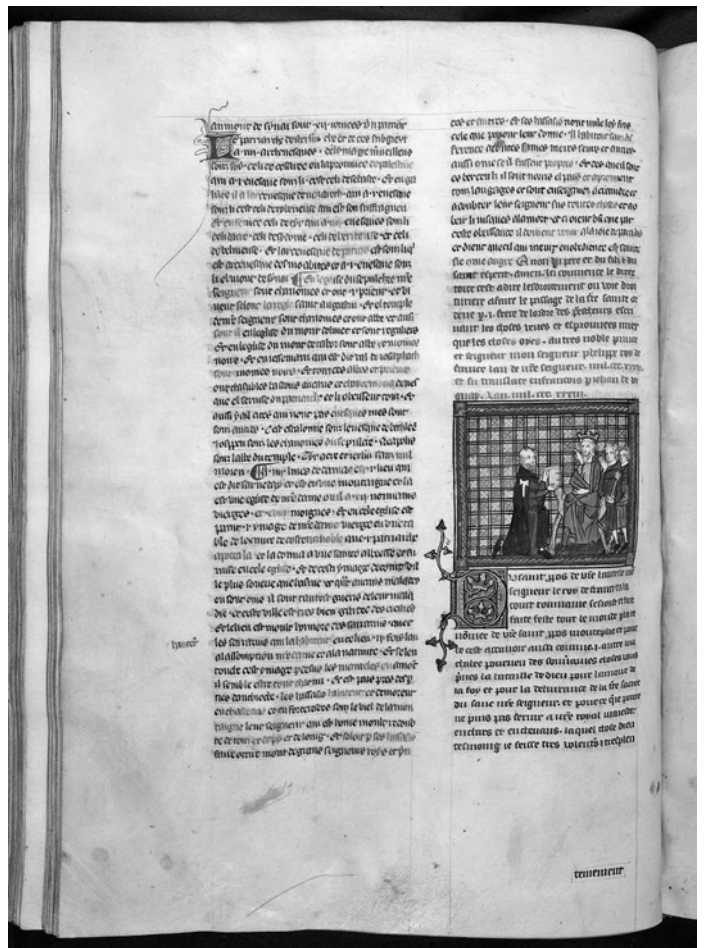
10.3 Jean de Vignay presents his translation to Philip VI and friars depart for the East, London, British Library, Royal 19 D I, fol. 136. © British Library Board.



on folio 148v opens the text. It shows Pope Innocent IV meeting with a group of Franciscans and Dominicans before sending them on their journey. The parallel imagery to the previous miniature provides a similar authority to these mendicants as granted to the fellows of Odoric of Pordenone. While it is the opening image of the text, it does not serve as a noticeable frontispiece in the way that the prior miniature did. Instead, it functions rather as the multiple single-column images found in the Alexander Romance and Marco Polo: it is descriptive filler. The scribal and visual planning involved in this smooth passage from one mendicant's text to another shows that they were always meant to be together and, I contest, were seen as one unit. This type of intricate planning is also present in the next two Vignay texts, which seamlessly start and stop on the same folios and, again, extend the idea of these texts as belonging to the same visual and literary grouping (148v for Odoric and John, 165v for John and the *Directoire*, and 192v for the *Directoire* and the *Bible Historiale*).

What follows the recounting of John of Plano Carpini's journey is the only true *De recuperatione* text of this compilation and with it come the first true images of crusade to be found in the compilation. It is also the only treatise that may have had its Latin origin in the call for knowledge from Philip VI's Crusade Council. The *Directoire a faire le passage de la Terre Sainte* was written in Latin in 1332 and dedicated to Philip VI by an anonymous Dominican author, most often identified as one of the important crusading advisors of the Capetian reign, William Adam.⁴⁰ Royal 19 D I includes the unique text of the 1333 translation by Jean de Vignay, who appears in folio 165v, again with his prominent Tau cross, presenting his translation to a seated king, identified as Philip VI in the rubric (Figure 10.4).⁴¹ The text is a practical manual that provides the king with directions on how to undertake this crusade project, directed not only toward the Saracens, but also toward heretic Christians. After appealing to the king to behave

10.4 Jean de Vignay presents his translation to Philip VI, London, British Library, Royal 19 D I, fol. 165v. © British Library Board.



as his illustrious crusading predecessors had, the first passages provide incentive to the royal reader for taking on such a burdensome project: the king should want to save Christians in the Holy Land, but perhaps more importantly, to expand Catholic Christendom (as opposed to Orthodox) in the face of encroaching Muslims and Mongols. The text quickly moves from inspiration to advice, providing information on whom the crusades would affect and how.

The author directly refers to the new geographical knowledge that the mendicant preachers brought back from the East, greatly expanding the inhabited world, and points out that most of these “new” peoples were not Christian and therefore Christendom should be strengthened and expanded. The author, in fact, refers to his own travels and eyewitness accounts of those who live outside of the Christian world, making a case for the joining of this text with the previous translations. This direct observation of the foreign Other would have certainly appealed to the French king whose future travels were the focus of the *Directoire*.

The king’s own presence is made visible through his repeated appearance in the two described presentation scenes and he plays an active role, at least conceptually, in the visual program of the *Directoire*. A king of France—to be read as Philip after his identification in the presentation miniature—replicates the journeys of the earlier texts in Royal 19 D I as described and illustrated with images of the traveling emperors, merchants, and friars. On folio 168, the king and his soldiers are depicted departing by ship just as did Odoric and the Polo brothers before. This is followed further in the image cycle by the same king, now helmed, approaching by ship a city inhabited by turbaned Saracens on folio 187v. Again, “Future Philip” is presented in a familiar generic mode and should be understood to have the potential to achieve the same greatness should he follow this author’s advice on how to run his crusade.

From specific advice on how Philip VI should run his future crusade, the compilation next turns to the most immediate historic example of a French crusading king, Louis IX. Like his immediate Capetian predecessors, Philip of Valois emphasized his relationship to St. Louis IX, his paternal great-grandfather, in an effort to stress a continuation of the sanctified royal line.⁴² This was especially important as Philip was descended from a cadet line of the dynasty. As a crusading hero, St. Louis had evolved into the most prominent recent exemplar of Christian kingship and emulating his crusading pursuits was one way for a leader to repeat his saintly deeds.⁴³ Excerpts of the *Life of St. Louis* as found in Vignay’s translation include an otherwise unknown passage from Primat’s *Chronique*. Again, it exists not as a single textual example added later to the compilation, but as part of the Vignay visual grouping. The text of the *Chronique* begins on folio 192v, but the first single-column image is found on folio 194 where the Abbot of St-Denis sees off two soldiers on horseback.⁴⁴ Primat’s recounting of the events were, in a continuation of the theme of these compiled texts, most likely based upon his eyewitness experience as a monk of the abbey.⁴⁵ The miniature recounts the departure of French troops for the crusade of 1270 and again visually reflects the theme of departure for

foreign lands under the auspices of church authority. A scene of crusade, as represented in folio 233 with a generic image of the mounted and helmed French king chasing fleeing Saracens, portrays not Louis IX, but his son Philip III. The later Philip who would read this book could easily see himself reflecting the actions of his crusading namesake who had been the first to follow in the footsteps of St. Louis.

The last text of the manuscript is not an original translation by Vignay. Excerpts from the *Bible historiale* that focus on biblical military rulers form a more than suitable coda to the other texts in the compilation.⁴⁶ Indeed, by adding biblical history, the compiler rounds out the full complement of traditional prose genres of history writing in the fourteenth century found in the manuscript.⁴⁷ The illuminations do not participate in the program of foreign travel that is constant throughout the compilation, but battle against a foreign enemy would seem to be the focus of the episode of David and Goliath (folio 252) and wariness against hubris and infidelity among family and court the theme of the Death of Absalom (folio 263v).

There is a single story being told in Royal 19 D I. It is a complicated story of travel to faraway lands and of battle once there. If looking or reading without care, this single story can be momentarily subsumed to the visual programs of the first few commercially important texts in the manuscript. The abundance of illustrations in the Alexander Romance and the new visual program for the Marco Polo deserve the scholarly attention that they have received. These texts and their illustrations have a proven life beyond Royal 19 D I, but the Vignay group makes this particular compilation unique. The visual treatment of the texts translated by Jean de Vignay, including so few images, stands apart clearly from what came before in the manuscript; yet, I suggest that the use of the double-columned frontispiece at the opening of the *Merveilles*, the repeated opening of texts with scenes of authorized travel, and the repeated appearance of both the translator, Jean de Vignay, and the recipient, King Philip VI, create a book within the middle of a book. Jean de Vignay could find in the visual cohesion of his “book within a book” an affirmation of his role as premier translator at the Valois court. Philip VI could find within this manuscript an affirmation of his role as leader of the proposed crusade through connections with romantic/historic leaders and contemporary travelers, and through the guidance of his advisors, without ever leaving the relative comforts of his court.

Acknowledgment

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Development Grant from Saint Louis University. In addition to the editors of this volume, I would like to thank these authorities and the directors and staff of the British Library for their invaluable aid, especially Kathleen Doyle, Peter Kidd, and Scot McKendrick. An earlier version of this topic, which received helpful commentary from Elizabeth Morrison and Anne D. Hedeman, was presented at the College Art Association annual meeting in 2007.

Notes

- 1 The vernacular texts included in the compilation are the *Vrais hystoire du bon roi Alixandre* and its continuation the *Venjançe d'Alexandre*, Marco Polo's *Li livres du Grant Caam*, the *Merveilles de la terre d'Outremer* by the friar Odoric of Pordenone, excerpts of the journeys of John of Plano Carpini in the *Miroir historial*, crusade advice in the *Directoire a faire le passage de la Terre Sainte*, excerpts of the life of St. Louis from Primat's *Chronique*, and Old Testament passages from Guiard des Moulins's *Bible historiale*.
- 2 See George F. Warner and Julius P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, 4 vols. (London: British Museum, 1921), vol. 2, pp. 339–41 for the entry on Royal 19 D I. D.J.A. Ross, "Methods of Book-Production in a XIVth Century French Miscellany," *Scriptorium* 6 (1952): pp. 63–75, at p. 63; and Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200–1500*, 2 vols (Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 2000), vol. 1, pp. 244–7.
- 3 The Montbaston attribution belongs to the Rouses, *Manuscripts*, vol. 1, pp. 244–7.
- 4 Christine Knowles, "Jean de Vignay, un traducteur du XIVE siècle," *Romania* 75 (1954): p. 353–83. For the crusading context of the Alexander Romance and Marco Polo's travels, see Mark Cruse, *Illuminating the Roman d'Alexandre*: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 264. *The Manuscript as Monument* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2011), esp. pp. 145–80.; see also Antonio Garcia Espada, *Marco Polo y la Cruzada: Historia de la literatura de viajes a las Indias en el siglo XIV* (Madrid: Marcial Pons Ediciones de Historia, 2009). See also Mary Rouse and Richard Rouse, "Context and Reception: A Crusading Collection for Charles IV of France," in *Courtly Arts and the Art of Courtliness: Selected Papers from the Eleventh Triennial Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 29 July–4 August 2004*, (ed.) Keith Busby and Christopher Kleinhenz (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2004), pp. 105–80.
- 5 Rouse and Rouse, "Context and Reception," p. 137.
- 6 My interest in the layout of this compilation is directly influenced by Malcolm B. Parkes, "The Influence of the Concepts of Ordinatio and Compilatio on the Development of the Book," in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, (ed.) J.J.G. Alexander and M.T. Gibson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), pp. 115–41. See also Keith Busby, *Codex and Context: Reading Old French Verse Narrative in Manuscript*, 2 vols (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002), p. 280.
- 7 Several of the individual texts, although not those unique to this manuscript, have received extensive scholarly attention. For the Alexander Romance, see D.J.A. Ross, *Alexander Historiatus: A Guide to Medieval Illustrated Alexander Literature* (London: The Warburg Institute, 1963). For the Marco Polo and its copies, see Consuelo Dutschke, "The Truth in the Book: The Marco Polo Texts in Royal 19 D I and Bodley 264," *Scriptorium* 52 (1998): pp. 278–300.
- 8 For purposes of this chapter, I intentionally conflate the text of the *Venjançe* with the heavily illuminated Prose Alexander. Its single image is subsumed to the larger program for the purpose of focusing less on the popular treatise and more on the crusader context. Thus, when I refer to "the Alexander" romance, I refer to both the *Vrais hystoire* and the *Venjançe*.
- 9 Ross, "Methods," p. 66, shows that the numerous marginal guides make it clear that the visual program of the compilation was conceived within a single workshop. My own codicological analysis of the foliation follows Warner and Gilson and further shows that the manuscript, while potentially separable into three main groups based on the foliation and placement of textual frontispieces, was likely assembled in a single campaign.
- 10 Dhira B. Mahoney, "Courtly Presentation and Authorial Self-Fashioning: Frontispiece Miniatures in Late Medieval French and English Manuscripts," *Mediaevalia* 21 (1996): pp. 97–160 at p. 101. For further foundational reading on the role of the presentation frontispiece, see Elizabeth Salter and Derek Pearsall, "Pictorial Illustrations of Late Medieval Poetic Texts: the Role of the Frontispiece or Prefatory Picture," in *Medieval Iconography and Narrative: A Symposium*, (ed.) Flemming G. Andersen et al. (Odense: Odense University Press, 1980), pp. 100–123.

- 11 Mahoney, "Courtly Presentation," pp. 103–4.
- 12 For the crusade project of Philip VI of Valois, see Raymond Cazelles, *La Société politique et la crise de la royauté sous Philippe de Valois* (Paris: Librairie d'Argences, 1958); John B. Henneman, *Royal Taxation in Fourteenth Century France: The Development of War Financing, 1322–56* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971); Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274–1580: From Lyons to Alcazar* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); Christopher Tyerman, "Philip VI and the Recovery of the Holy Land," *The English Historical Review* 100, no. 394 (1985): pp. 25–52; and Jules Viard, "Les projets des croisades de Philippe VI de Valois," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 97 (1936): pp. 305–16.
- 13 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 13568.
- 14 London, British Library, Royal MS 16 G VI.
- 15 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 22495.
- 16 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 5716. Several well-known manuscripts that included, even if tangentially, crusading themes were created for the court, and specifically for the royal family. As part of an ongoing project, I continue to expand and define this list. At the moment of writing, these are the manuscripts that I have personally viewed.
- 17 Norman Housley addresses the effect that the time lapse since the last crusade may have had on the "public consciousness" of crusading ("Perceptions of Crusading in the Mid-Fourteenth Century: The Evidence of Three Texts," *Viator* 36 (2005): pp. 415–33, at 416). I have elsewhere discussed the romancing of Philip's crusade project in Maureen Quigley, "Romantic Geography and the Crusades: British Library Royal ms. 19 D I," *Peregrinations* 2, no. 3 (2009): pp. 53–76. Available at: <http://peregrinations.kenyon.edu> [accessed June 18, 2015].
- 18 Tyerman, "Recovery of the Holy Land," pp. 34–5. Tyerman includes such members as the king's brother, the Count of Alençon, and the Constable of France, Raoul of Eu. Among the treatises identified are the *Directoire* and the *Texaurus Regis Francie acquisitionis Terre Sancte* by Guido da Vigevano, Queen Jeanne of Burgundy's private physician.
- 19 Vignay is better known for his translations of the *Speculum Historiale* (Miroir historial), the *Legenda Aurea* (Legende d'orée), and the *Ludus Scaccorum* (Jeu des echecs). These texts lent themselves to popular illustration in *de luxe* manuscripts. While slightly dated in its identifications, Christine Knowles, "Jean de Vignay, un traducteur du XIVe siècle," *Romania* 75 (1954): pp. 353–83, remains the most significant contribution to Vignay studies. Textual and art historical studies on these three texts are too numerous to name, although Claudine Chavannes-Mazel, *The Miroir Historial of Jean le Bon: The Leiden Manuscript and Its Related Copies* (PhD diss., Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden, 1988) is an excellent example of the reach of certain of Vignay's translations.
- 20 See Christine Knowles, "A 14th century imitator of Jean de Meung: Jean de Vignay's Translation of the *De re militari* of Vegetius," *Studies in Philology* 53 (1956): pp. 452–8; and Michael Reeve, "The Transmission of Vegetius's *Epitoma rei militaris*," *Medium Aevum* 74 (2000): pp. 243–354.
- 21 Christopher Allmand, *The De Re Militari of Vegetius: The Reception, Transmission and Legacy of a Roman Text in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
- 22 The two books in question are Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rossianus 457, fols 135–68v and London, British Library Royal MS 20 B I, fols. 1–31v. See Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers*, 1:244 and 389 n. 65.
- 23 See Julia Bastin, "Le traité de Théodore Paléologue dans la traduction de Jean de Vignay, in Études Romanes dédiées à Mario Roques (Paris: Droz, 1946), pp. 77–88; Christine Knowles, *Les Enseignements de Théodore Paléologue* (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 1983); and D.J.A. Ross, "The Prince Answers Back: *Les Enseignements* de Théodore Paliologue," in *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood*, (ed.) Christopher Harper-Bill and Ruth Harvey, vol. 1 (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1986), pp. 165–77.
- 24 Knowles, *Enseignements*, p. 21, cites the translator's dedication and prologue as found in Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS Mun. 215, fol. 33v: "A la tres excellent, tres puissant et tres noble majesté royaul et filz d'Eglise tres crestien, Phelippe, par la grace de Dieu roy des Frans et prince tres souverain sur tous les autres: Le vostre humble religieux, tres petit et tres simple entres les autres de vostre royaume, tant en science comme en mours, frere Jehan de Vienay, de l'ordre de l'ospital Saint Jaque de Haut Pas, joye, paix et santé de corps et d'ame, et victoire sur tous vos anemis" (emphasis added).
- 25 Bastin, "Le traité," p. 77, identifies the two as Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 11042, dated to after 1384 and written for Philip the Bold; and Bibliothèque Royale MS 9467, a copy from the fifteenth century. The Dijon dedication as cited above exists separately from the body of the text.
- 26 D.J.A. Ross, "Nectanebus in His Palace: A Problem of Alexander Iconography," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 15 (1952): pp. 67–87.

- 27 Ibid., pp. 68–9. Ross declares the Alexander program in Royal 19 D I to be closely aligned with a Latin version of the romance, the *Historia de Preliis*, found in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 8501. A fifteenth-century frontispiece found in Oxford, Bodleian, Bodley 264 and bearing almost identical iconography to Royal 19 D I is the focus of Ross's article.
- 28 Quigley, "Romantic Geography," pp. 65–6.
- 29 Ross, "Methods," p. 69.
- 30 Folio 59v; Ross, "Methods," p. 68. The image may be found online. See: <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=46435> [accessed June 18, 2015].
- 31 For a general account of the development of the text of Marco Polo, see Peter Jackson, "Marco Polo and His 'Travels,'" *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 61, no. 1 (1998): pp. 82–101; and John Larner, *Marco Polo and the Discovery of the World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 55.
- 32 The list of Vignay translations in manuscript form compiled on the ARLIMA website under the direction of Laurent Brun is invaluable, as is the accompanying bibliography. Available at: http://www.arlima.net/il/jean_de_vignay.html#pri [accessed June 18, 2015].
- 33 For the most recent modern edition of the text, see Jean de Vignay, "*Les merveilles de la terre d'outremer*," *Traduction du XIV^e siècle du récit de voyage d'Odoric de Pordenone*, (ed.) D.A. Trotter, Textes littéraires 75 (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1990). For recent scholarship on Odoric in comparison within the broader tradition of fourteenth-century travel literature, see Antonio García Espada, "Marco Polo, Odorico of Pordenone, the Crusades, and the Role of the Vernacular in the First Descriptions of the Indies," *Viator* 40, no. 1 (2009): pp. 201–22, who argues convincingly for a crusading connection between the travel itineraries of these merchants and mendicants; thus, the succession of the two texts in 19 D I would be more than appropriate, it would be expected.
- 34 García Espada, "Role of the Vernacular," pp. 203–4 and 210–17. For analyses of specific literature, see Norman Housley, "Perceptions of Crusading," pp. 415–33, and Antony Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land: The Crusade Proposals of the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).
- 35 Fol. 136.
- 36 See Ephraim Emerson, "Altopascio—A Forgotten Order," *American Historical Review* 29, no. 1 (1923): pp. 1–23, for a general description of the order and its iconography of the Tau.
- 37 This image is available through the online catalogue of illuminated manuscripts of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Available at: <http://mandragore.bnf.fr/jsp/rechercheExperte.jsp> [accessed June 18, 2015].
- 38 Ross, "Methods," p. 64; see also Laurent Brun and Mattia Cavagna, "Pour une édition du *Miroir historial* de Jean de Vignay," *Romania* 124 (2006): pp. 378–428, at pp. 389 and 392 n. 40. Brun and Cavagna, who are writing the critical edition of Vignay's *Miroir historial* (Paris: Société des anciens textes français, in progress), definitively identify the extract in Royal 19 D I as deriving from the Vignay translation.
- 39 See Gregory Guzman, "The encyclopedist Vincent of Beauvais and his Mongol extracts from John of Plano Carpin and Simon of Saint Quentin," *Speculum* 49 (1974): pp. 287–307; Larner, *Marco Polo*, pp. 26–7; and García Espada, "Role of the Vernacular," pp. 203–4.
- 40 Burchard of Mount Sion and Raymond Étienne are often listed as potential authors of this text. Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land*, pp. 43–4, provides a summary of the literature regarding the identification of the Dominican author of the *Directoire*. The full text may be found in the *Directorium ad passagium faciendum transmarinum*, Recueil des historiens des croisades. Documents arméniennes, vol. 2 (Paris: L'académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 1906), pp. 365–517 and C. Raymond Beazley, "*Directorium ad Faciendum Passagium Transmarinum*, II" *American Historical Review* 13, no. 1 (October 1907): pp. 66–115. For the dating of the original presentation of the Latin document to Philip VI, see C. Raymond Beazley, "*Directorium ad passagium faciendum transmarinum*," *American Historical Review* 12, no. 4 (July 1907): p. 810. Leopold, in general, supports the consensus that William Adam, a Dominican whose interest in the crusades was made clear in his *De modo Saracenos extirpandi*, Recueil des historiens des croisades. Documents arméniennes, vol. 2 (Paris: L'académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 1906), pp. 521–55.
- 41 The rubric at the beginning of the *Directoire*, found on the middle of the second column on fol. 165v, reads in part: "... au tres noble prince et seigneur mon seigneur phelippe roy de france lan de nre seigneur. mil.ccc.xxxii. et fu translate en francois p iehan de vignay. Lan.mil.ccc.xxxiii." i.e., "to the very noble prince and lord, my Lord Philip, King of France, the year of Our Lord 1332, and was translated into French by Jean de Vignay. The year 1333."
- 42 For royal participation in the cult of Saint Louis, see among many others the recent work by M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle*

Ages (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2010). For Philip of Valois's own dedication to the saint, see Cazelles, *Société politique*, pp. 96–7.

- 43 For Philip's particular interest in Saint Louis's tradition of crusade, see Tyerman, "Recovery," pp. 34–9.
- 44 For the text of Vignay's translation, see Natalis de Wailly, "Chronique de Primat. Traduite par Jean du Vignay," *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, vol. 23 (Paris: De Wailly, Delisle et Jourdain, 1876), pp. 1–106.
- 45 Caroline Smith, *Crusading in the Age of Joinville* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 40–41.
- 46 In this chapter, I pay poor service to the visual and textual closing section of the manuscript, the Bible historiale excerpt. I plan, in future, to incorporate this text and its images more fully into a study of this manuscript and its relationship to the Vignay translations. As pointed out by Rouse and Rouse, the addition of this text, comprising the stories of Old Testament warrior kings, provides a biblical counterpoint at the end of the compilation to the historical warrior king who opened the manuscript, Alexander ("Context and Reception," p. 106).
- 47 See Elizabeth Morrison and Anne D. Hedeman, *Imagining the Past in France: History in Manuscript Painting, 1250–1500* (Los Angeles, CA: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2010), pp. 1–7, for a good general description of the genres of history writing. Gabrielle Spiegel's *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1993) remains one of the primary sources for discussing the genres of prose history writing.



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Crusading Responses to the Turkish Threat in Visual Culture, 1453–1519

Norman Housley

Attempts to revive the crusade to resist the Ottoman threat in the decades following the fall of Constantinople in 1453 bequeathed a legacy of visual evidence that valuably complements the period's abundant corpus of written texts.¹ Some changes from earlier phases of crusading are worth noting. We do not possess the wealth of architecture and manuscript illumination that is so characteristic of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Instead, as we would expect of a period when the Renaissance was at its height, a large proportion of our evidence takes the form of paintings and figural sculpture. There is also an increasing quantity of woodcuts and commemorative medals. The usual problems attending visual sources remain: we need to know the circumstances and intention behind each source's commissioning, to gauge its likely audience, and if possible—though this is usually a forlorn hope—to assess its influence. Contemporaries delighted in layered and concealed meanings, and almost every source presents us with individual as well as generic issues of interpretation. The best illustration of this is Piero della Francesca's much-debated *The Flagellation of Christ* (Urbino). There are strong grounds for believing that the painting references the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople. By this reading the bound and suffering figure of Christ stands for the city and/or the Eastern Church, while the seated Pilate (background left) is John VIII Palaeologos and the turbaned onlooker (viewed from the back) Mehmed II. Silvia Ronchey, however, has taken the crusading interpretation much further, arguing in both academic and popular output that Piero's masterpiece formed part of an ambitious program pursued by Cardinal Bessarion, titular patriarch of Constantinople and fervent advocate of a crusade, to use military force to revive the fortunes of the house of Palaeologos. She believes that the bearded figure in the foreground is Bessarion himself.² To date, Ronchey's arguments have made regrettably little impact on English-speaking scholarship, but even if her work does become better known, it is unlikely that the issues she raises will be resolved; their mixture of the esoteric and hypothetical is reminiscent of the discussion about

the crusading message of the Wilton diptych, which appears to have stalled since Dillian Gordon's groundbreaking analysis following the painting's cleaning, for its special exhibition in the autumn of 1993.³

Christian Disunity and the Crusade

The complexity inherent in most of the visual evidence is aggravated by the ambiguities and contradictions that dogged the efforts of those who, like Bessarion, worked and lobbied strenuously for a crusading response to the Turks. The problem was not the crusading cause itself, for open critics of crusading remained relatively few. Jan van Eyck's *The Adoration of the Mystic Lamb* (Ghent), completed in 1432, features a panel entitled "The knights of Christ," and amongst their group is Godfrey of Bouillon. For van Eyck and his patrons, the merchant and financier Joost Vijdt and his wife, it was presumably beyond contention that this cluster of famous fighting men should balance the hermits represented on the other side of a monumental depiction of Christ's faithful gathering to worship Him. The urgent need for a unified military response to the westwards advance of the Ottoman armies and fleets was taken as read, forming the political correctness of the day. But while popes and rulers generally subscribed to the crusading program, in practice their efforts were constantly shadowed by duplicity and hamstrung by self-interest.

Naturally this pervasive ambivalence affected the image that contemporaries formed of the enemy. It is not hard to detect continuity of theme between the way the Saracens were customarily depicted in visual evidence created in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the *imago turci* that came to dominate crusading discourse during the Renaissance.⁴ Indeed, the brutal animosity that had been attributed to the Saracens on religious grounds gained an additional dimension from the prevailing view of the Turks as an ethnically barbaric people, who were intent on destroying civilized values together with the tenets of Christianity. But in the case of the Turks, internal Christian divisions blunted the potential impact of this image, and the *imago turci* became more nuanced than the stereotypical view of the Saracens had been. It is not possible to square the circle between the sadistic Turks shown decapitating and impaling their Christian captives in woodcuts that circulated throughout Europe, and the refined, intelligent profile given to Mehmed II in the portrait, now hung in London's National Gallery, which is usually attributed to Gentile Bellini. The difference resides not just in the clash between popular and elite culture, or the Janus-faced policies that were unavoidable in the case of such commercially exposed powers as Venice and Genoa. Crucial also is the fact that *Christianitas* was a mirage, whose forms dissolved with especial rapidity when Italian politics came into play. And the trouble was that they almost always did. The impressive medal, designed by Bertoldo di Giovanni, that Lorenzo de' Medici had struck for Sultan Mehmed to celebrate the landing of his troops at Otranto in 1480 is a striking testimony to the prevalent state of affairs.⁵ Consistent

condemnation of the Turks would have entailed embracing one's peninsular rivals, in this instance Ferrante of Naples.

An obscure but fascinating illustration dating from just a few years before the Otranto landing makes clever play with Italian disunity, dissimulation, and possibly collaboration (Figure 11.1). It features in the manuscript of Felice Feliciano's poem *Pronostico o vero prophetia de la venuta del Turcho*, which he wrote in 1471–72.⁶ We may assume that it was the creation of Feliciano himself, who was a competent draughtsman. Born in 1433 at Verona, he was an antiquarian, a fervent admirer of Ciriaco d'Ancona. He was well educated and well connected (he knew Mantegna), but enjoyed little patronage. Financial need restricted his antiquarian pursuits to Italy, where he travelled



11.1 Felice Feliciano's depiction of the Turkish dragon and the European powers, Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 157, fol. 96v, 1471–72. Courtesy of Harvard University.

from city to city collecting classical epigraphy. Towards the end of his life Feliciano extended his interests to typography, and when he died in 1479 he left a substantial body of lyric poetry and letters.⁷ We may conclude that while Feliciano belonged to the first generation fully to register the threat that the Turks posed to Italy, he also enjoyed sufficient political awareness to grasp how unlikely it was that the peninsular powers would unite against them. These are certainly the major themes in his *pronostico*, which obliquely portrays the relations between those powers and the Turks. "The great Turk" or sultan is shown as a ferocious dragon, which in the late spring starts "to spew its venomous breath" (*andra spargiendo il venenoso fiato*). Feliciano portrays Ferrante of Naples as a griffin, a legendary creature with the body of a lion and the head and wings of an eagle. The duke of Milan is a viper, curled around the king of Naples, presumably to show that he is allied with him. Florence is represented by four eggs, from three of which different ill-omened birds are hatched. The Church takes the form of a pastoral staff that the dragon holds clutched in its teeth, while the king of France is engagingly shown as a cock perched on the dragon's back.

Like many prophecies, Feliciano's *pronostico* is an opaque text, concealing more than it reveals.⁸ It is reasonable to assume that the poet, an eccentric and irascible individual who nursed many grudges, was hiding behind ambiguities, and was content to create striking but enigmatic images. He does acknowledge that Venice (not shown in the illustration, but described in the text as "the proud lion," with reference to St. Mark) is shielding Italy (*Hesperia*) from the Turks, though his description also implies public awareness that the republic's commitment to the war was decidedly flagging by this point. In 1470 it suffered the crushing loss of Negroponte, its most important fortress in the East. Does the bag of gold (*pecunia magna*) shown hanging around the dragon's neck (though not featuring in the text) indicate the sultan's endless resources, or money changing hands in dubious ways? And are Naples and France encouraging the sultan, or resisting him? From the state of play of Italian politics at the time that Feliciano wrote, and depending on whom you believed, either of these possibilities could be correct. Whatever its intended meaning, Feliciano's illustration is a telling indication of how pervasive the atmosphere of suspicion was at this point. It was not surprising that when the long anticipated invasion of Italy took place in 1480, the unity that it generated was, as we shall see, both superficial and short-lived. It was ironic that Venice's refusal to assist in the common enterprise of evicting the Turks from Apulia was condemned, and that the republic's resolute neutrality was viewed as proof of its complicity. Even today this *legenda negra* of Venice urging, advising on, or actively assisting the Turkish landing in 1480 occasionally surfaces.⁹ Venice did register its disdain for the crusading rhetoric that was spawned by the Otranto crisis, but this is understandable given that it was still bitter about the failure of its fellow Christians to come to its assistance in 1470, when a similar flurry of talks had led nowhere.¹⁰

Undoubtedly Venice's attitude towards the Turks was the most ambivalent of any of the Italian powers. The republic stood to lose both from allowing the

Turks to advance and from becoming implicated in a crusade that failed to stop them doing so. Its response to this dilemma was a caution so extreme that it infuriated crusading enthusiasts. Even such a discreet commentator as Pope Pius II could not conceal his frustration at Venetian policy, the more so since it was a truism of crusade planners that military operations would have to combine land with naval forces if they were to have any hope of success.¹¹ But Venice's own projection of its stance portrayed its fortresses, garrisons and fleets as Christendom's defensive shield, an inclusive *antemurale* whose heavy costs should in fairness be taken into account in any reckoning of individual contributions to the crusading cause. From that viewpoint the republic was constantly engaged in defending Christendom, much like the Knights of St. John at Rhodes. And on those occasions when the republic could not avoid going to war against the Turks it drew as heavily as it could on crusading rhetoric and images. The most expressive visual statement of this is Titian's *The Madonna di Ca' Pesaro*, of 1519–26. Titian painted this altarpiece for Jacopo Pesaro, the Venetian patrician who commanded the 13 galleys that Pope Alexander VI provided in 1502 for the war against the Turks. Jacopo's cousin Benedetto was captain-general of the Venetian fleet, so that the Christian capture of Santa Maura (Lefkada) in the Ionian Islands on August 20, 1502 was not just a victory for the Venetian-papal coalition but also a coup for the Pesaro clan. Hence it was unsurprising that Jacopo gave it such prominent treatment in his family chapel in the Frari Basilica, where it still hangs today.

The celebration of Christian success in Titian's masterpiece is certainly self-assured. On the left Jacopo is presented to the Virgin and Christ Child by St. Peter, whose key lies propped up on the steps that ascend to the Virgin's throne; other members of Jacopo's family are presented on the right, as befitted a Franciscan church, by St. Francis and St. Anthony. Conspicuous behind Jacopo is a large unfurled banner bearing the papal arms and those of Jacopo. Also behind the kneeling patron stand a turbaned Turk and a Moor. The painting's mingled air of triumphalism and piety may be compared with that of van Eyck's *Adoration of the Mystic Lamb*. It appears to possess none of the mystery that hangs over Piero della Francesca's *Flagellation of Christ*, not to speak of the muffled but indubitable skepticism that pervades Feliciano's picture. This is predictable, not just in terms of its commissioning but also because of the pattern of thinking that lay behind the 1502 campaign. Titian's insistent referencing of the papacy, in a city whose relations with Rome were often rocky, reflects the fact that on this occasion Venetian-papal cooperation had been strikingly effective. The ideological structure that underpinned crusading is here gloriously intact: the heavenly court, saints, and richly dressed but devout patricians are united in the service of the faith; in particular, there is an unmistakable diagonal line connecting Jacopo, St. Peter, and the Virgin. All are rewarded with a victory whose fruits are symbolized by the enemy captives. Van Eyck's imposing but generalized vision of harmony within the Church is thus historically earthed, under an imposing arch (of triumph?), and beneath an azure sky in which an infant angel tellingly supports a large cross. And in a touch that never fails to delight, a young kneeling Pesaro at

the bottom right turns his face to return the onlooker's gaze, as if challenging a skeptical response to Titian's coherent world view.

But as already stated, this was largely a mirage: Kenneth Setton noted that news of the success at Santa Maura reached Venice on the same day that the Senate prepared to send an envoy to Istanbul "in la materia de tractar la pace cum el Signor Turco, che veramente ne è molto a cor."¹² Despite massive investment and effort the republic had lost another war against the Turks and it would be many years before it was again prepared to confront the sultan. Alexander VI's contribution towards the war, though impressive, was atypical of a reign in which the Turkish threat was constantly referred to but seldom given priority. Indeed, the pope's reputation was so shabby that it was commonly believed that he was working with the Turks; the cardinal who was most dedicated to the crusading cause, the Frenchman Raymond Perault, was convinced of it.¹³ Ironically, in a painting that he created very shortly after the victory of 1502 for an *ex voto* commission from Jacopo Pesaro, Titian had depicted the papal commander being presented to St. Peter by Alexander himself.¹⁴ Alexander's exclusion from Titian's later (and far superior) work followed naturally from the painter's decision to include the Virgin and Christ Child as well as St. Peter; but in any case it would have been inadvisable by then to include a pope whose reign was being studiously forgotten.¹⁵ Aside from Alexander, no other Italian ruler had come to Venice's assistance, nor had the foreign powers that now regularly intervened in peninsular politics done much to help. So Titian's painting looks both backwards and forwards: often praised for its innovative compositional technique, it referenced an event that was becoming increasingly unusual.

Titian's *Madonna di Ca' Pesaro* is not the only Renaissance masterpiece to present a deceptively uncomplicated view of the anti-Turkish crusade. The crusade scenes in Pinturicchio's cycle of frescoes in the Piccolomini Library in Siena Cathedral are in many ways comparable. Pinturicchio painted these scenes from the life of Pius II at the same time that Titian was executing his first Pesaro commission. Delightfully lyrical, narrative, and detailed in character, the frescoes include representations of the two crusading highlights in Pius's reign as pope, the Mantua congress of 1459 and Pius's fruitless sojourn at Ancona in 1464. It is in keeping with the developing view of Pius's achievements that his crusading program should dominate the scenes in the cycle that show him as pope: the only other papal scene, the canonization of St. Catherine, was effectively dictated by Sienese patriotism. Although both the Mantua congress and Pius's decision personally to accompany a crusade, which would embark at Ancona, had aroused much controversy at the time, by 1503 both seem to have been viewed as praiseworthy events, worthy of commemoration in this way. The convening of a congress of European powers and the proposal for papal participation in a crusade had become standard papal mechanisms, albeit ineffective ones. Like his predecessors, Alexander VI subscribed to them. Both Mantua and Ancona had been failures for Pius, but they had been heroic ones which rebounded to his credit. Pinturicchio

thus depicts Pius in each fresco as an imposing and authoritative figure, much in keeping with the pope's own version of events in his *Commentarii*.¹⁶

Thus far we have considered one source that referenced the crusade in a positive way while lamenting the fact that it was impeded by disunity between the Catholic and Orthodox Churches, a second that obliquely critiqued the politics of crusading, and a number that celebrated the crusade by subsuming its tensions or valorizing its failures. For the remainder of this chapter I propose to explore further this range of responses by focusing on visual sources that illuminate the crusade programs of three of the most prominent rulers of the period, Pope Sixtus IV, King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary, and the emperor-elect Maximilian. From one angle each of the sources expounds an essentially positive and celebratory view of crusade, but from another each demonstrates the fissures resulting from the prevalence of self-interest and the absence of any sustained unity amongst the Christian powers.

Sixtus IV and Benedetto da Maiano's Santa Croce Pulpit

In the case of Sixtus IV the source is Benedetto da Maiano's marble pulpit in the Church of Santa Croce, Florence (Figure 11.2).¹⁷ The pulpit was commissioned by the banker Piero Francesco Mellini and the evidence for its creation points to a date in the early 1480s.¹⁸ Probably taking his lead from Giotto's similar cycle in Santa Croce's Bardi chapel, Benedetto chose to sculpt a sequence of scenes illustrating the early history of the Franciscans, and one of his panels depicts the Franciscans who were martyred at Marrakesh in 1220.¹⁹ The sculptor brilliantly captures the drama and violence of the execution. On the right the enthroned sultan of Morocco decrees the death of the five men, and the executioner has already raised his sword over his right shoulder to bring it down on the neck of his next kneeling and praying victim, who is leaning forwards to receive the mortal blow. In a fine study of the pulpit, Doris Carl presented a robust case for Benedetto's scene mirroring the massacre that was carried out at Otranto in 1480 by the invading Turks. The circumstantial evidence is strong. The period's crusade preachers made much of Turkish brutality, especially the atrocities that had followed the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople, Negroponte, and Otranto. One of the most prominent of these preachers, Angelo Carletti, lobbied for recognition of the cult of the "Marrakesh five," which was verbally granted by Sixtus—himself a Franciscan—in November 1480, and sanctioned in writing in August 1481. Francesco Nanni "Sansone," who was the order's minister-general for a quarter of a century, was another supporter of the crusade and died at Santa Croce.

To borrow Carl's terminology, Benedetto's pulpit functioned as a "pictorial sermon" (*Bildpredigt*) that was intended to spark off in its observers a cluster of associated reflections. These reflections were both generalized and circumstantial. In broad terms there were the spiritual value, should the occasion arise, of dying for the faith; the vicious animosity that Muslims

11.2 Benedetto da Maiano's pulpit, Santa Croce, Florence, early 1480s. Courtesy of Alinari.



harbored for Christians;²⁰ and the kudos that the martyrdom of the Marrakesh Franciscans bestowed on all members of their order, as well as on their lay *confratres*. Other reflections were more focused on the situation facing Florentines, and Italians generally at the time of the pulpit's creation: the example offered by the several hundred victims of Otranto; the proximity of Islamic belligerence in the shape of the Turks; and the message of active opposition towards the Ottoman advance that was being preached by the Franciscans, to some extent by the Conventuals, but more effectively by the Observants. In this latter respect the chronology strongly favors a crusading

interpretation of the Marrakesh scene, for in the same months that he sanctioned the cult, Sixtus IV created a network of Franciscan preachers, above all in Italy and central Europe. They were given the task of preaching indulgences to raise money for the expulsion of the Turks from Otranto. It is likely that Sixtus was thinking not just about the reactions of audiences but also about the morale of his preachers. For the most part, publicizing the crusade had become an uphill and thankless task, and associating it with the order's past glory might incentivize those brethren who were drafted into the preaching teams.

So far, so positive. The kudos of the order's past, the urgent need to forge a military response to the Ottoman threat, and the existence of close ties between a Franciscan pope and crusading enthusiasts in his milieu, formed a fruitful synergy. But there were other aspects of the situation in 1480–82 which bring into a discussion of the Santa Croce pulpit the more negative features of contemporary crusading programs. The first relates to the pope himself. Mehmed's death in May 1481, and the Turkish surrender of Otranto four months later, did not cause Sixtus immediately to shut down the crusade. In a letter written to Carletti in December 1481, the pope announced that he intended to capitalize on the confusion created by the sultan's death by taking the war to the Turks in the form of an attack on Valona. Hence Carletti's original three-year commission to preach the crusade remained valid, notwithstanding the recovery of Otranto three months earlier.²¹ Just like Calixtus III in 1456 in the aftermath of Belgrade's relief, Sixtus appeared to respond to success with the strategically sound proposal to take advantage of the enemy's discomfiture.²² But early in May 1482 he abruptly reversed that decision: Emerich von Kemel, the leading preacher in Germany, was ordered to call off all crusade preaching immediately.²³ A circular that the pope issued nine days later explained the move in terms of Turkish quiescence.²⁴ Other letters followed that failed to clarify the situation. One sent to various German civic authorities on May 23 claimed that the reason for ordering that preaching should continue after the Christian victories was news that the Turks were preparing a mighty fleet. Because Sixtus had spent 133,000 ducats on the recovery of Otranto and other large sums on relieving Rhodes, "we were forced to declare a holy crusade" to meet these fresh expenses. But the news turned out to be false, hence the revocation.²⁵

What almost certainly lay behind Sixtus's change of mind does not reflect well on either the pope or contemporary opinion of him. In the spring of 1482 he faced the greatest crisis of his reign, as military and political threats in Italy converged with the danger of unrest exploding in Germany, stimulated by the audacious conciliar initiative that was launched at Basel by the Croatian Dominican Andrija Jamometić (Andrea Zamometić).²⁶ Jamometić was the catalyst: the papal u-turn was set in motion just days after news reached Rome of his vitriolic condemnation of Sixtus, which he accompanied with the proclamation of a Church council. Furthermore, on the same day that Emerich von Kemel was ordered to stop preaching he was also instructed to join in the manhunt to arrest the Croat.²⁷ Nor was Sixtus overreacting. Following

his complicity in the Pazzi conspiracy of 1478, the pope's reputation was so shabby that it was all too easy for his numerous enemies and critics to construe his decision to continue the preaching after Otranto's recovery as deriving from the hope of finding funds to pursue his own controversial policies, or more bluntly, those of his nephew Girolamo Riario.²⁸ At the very least, such arguments would be deployed as camouflage by the secular authorities to seize the proceeds of the preaching, so that Sixtus would gain no cash from the exercise but plenty of obloquy.²⁹ In such circumstances there was no point in carrying on with it.

If the evidence for Sixtus's plans to make money out of a continuation of the Otranto preaching is circumstantial, his intention to use the crisis for political ends is more clearly evidenced.³⁰ The news of Otranto's occupation created alarm at Rome, where there was talk of abandoning the city, but in the context of Sixtus's political situation it brought both dangers and opportunities. The main danger was that Louis XI of France, Lorenzo de' Medici's ally, would observe the pope's response carefully, and should it prove weak he would revive calls for a council. But the opportunities were stronger. Not only did the landing divert the attention of Ferrante of Naples, who was the pope's most threatening enemy, but it enabled Sixtus to use his spiritual authority, which nobody dared to challenge, to escape from the isolated position in which he had been placed by the formation in July 1480 of a league that comprised Florence, Naples, Milan, and Ferrara. So in the winter and spring months of 1480–81 Sixtus focused on creating a peninsular league that could expel the Turks while giving the French enough concessions to buy off their intervention. In April 1481 the bull *Cogimur iubente altissimo* decreed a truce to last for three years starting on June 1.³¹ This did not stop the pope covertly persisting with his own machinations on behalf of Riario.³² While leaving the most unscrupulous activities to his nephew, the pope himself played a double game, running a stop-go policy on the provision of help to Ferrante and failing to follow through on his own measures of pacification.³³

Arguably Lorenzo de' Medici was the ruler most affected by this turn of events. For instance, when granting the Florentines their long-delayed absolution on December 3, 1480, the pope made it conditional on a previously unmentioned demand for 15 fully equipped galleys for the crusade.³⁴ Given that Guillaume d'Estouteville, one of the cardinals charged with managing the crusade, told the Florentine envoys not to take this demand seriously, it could be that Sixtus was just playing cat and mouse with Florence. But Lorenzo's position was unenviable, and in the letters that he penned during the Otranto crisis we can witness his acute mind wrestling with the predicament created by the Turks' arrival on the scene. This made Franciscan preaching of the crusade at Florence a rather sensitive issue for the *Signoria*. Doris Carl points to Vespasiano da Bisticci's *Lamento d'Italia per la presa d'Otranto fatta dai Turci nel 1480*, which he wrote between August 1480 and May 1481, as evidence that the regime came under domestic criticism, and while this seems to be stretching the point, it is probably true to say that the easing of pressure in the summer of 1481 came as a relief for Lorenzo. It meant that normal diplomatic

business could resume, and it is likely that Lorenzo derived considerable satisfaction from the news of Jamometić's polemical assault on Sixtus in 1482. He even sent an envoy, Baccio Ugolini, to Basel to see if any political capital could be made of Jamometić's initiative. The boot was now truly on the other foot: a call for a council was as useful for the pope's enemies as the call for a crusade was for him. As for Benedetto's pulpit, since its iconography so easily transcended the particular circumstances of the Otranto war it could never pose a challenge to the Medici principate. After all, a potent reminder of the family's religious respectability and of Florence's recent services to the Church could be seen no more than a short walk from Santa Croce. This was Benozzo Gozzoli's *The Journey of the Magi*, which he painted on the eastern wall of the chapel in Palazzo Medici/Riccardi in 1459–61. Benozzo's fresco depicted both Cosimo and Piero de' Medici, and clearly referred to the council held in Florence in 1438–39 that had brought about Church union, paving the way for a crusade.³⁵

Matthias Corvinus and the Olomouc Fresco

Our next image takes us beyond the Italian political scene, reminding us that one of the challenges facing the popes of the period was how to balance Italy's volatile alliance system against a range of extra-peninsular issues, political and religious alike. In this instance the issue was that of ultraquist Bohemia and its Catholic neighbors. The source that we are dealing with is a substantial (46 square metres) and detailed fresco depicting the siege and relief of Belgrade in 1456 (Figure 11.3).³⁶ It was painted in the choir of the Church of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, the Observant church at Olomouc (Olmütz), in 1468. Although the fresco is damaged, its principal features remain clear. The fortified walls and towers of Belgrade are shown on the left, the besieging Turkish army on the right: their heavy artillery, which made a strong impression on eyewitnesses, is much in evidence. On the right, the more damaged part, the Christians appear to be storming outwards from Belgrade's walls to drive off the Turks. It is possible that the fresco takes the form of a narrative—the city is defended on the left, the enemy defeated on the right. This would reflect the events of the siege, in particular the defenders' rash but, as it turned out, astonishingly successful counterattack on July 22. This interpretation finds support in the fact that Giovanni da Capistrano appears to feature both on the left and on the right, and both times he is shown substantially larger than life.³⁷

Why was such a striking depiction of the siege of Belgrade painted in Moravia in 1468? The answer is that it carried a message that was clearer and more pointed than that of any of the other images that we have considered. The fresco was painted shortly after the Church of the Immaculate Conception was consecrated by the papal legate Lorenzo Rovarella that summer, on the occasion of Matthias Corvinus's stay in Olomouc during his war against George Podebrad. Matthias was the son of the great captain Hunyadi, who



11.3 The siege of Belgrade depicted on the choir wall of the Observant church at Olomouc, 1468. Courtesy of Michal Mañas.

appears on the far left (apparently perched on the edge of the crenellated wall) holding the banner of the cross. The fresco therefore proclaimed three things: Omolouc's political allegiance to Matthias, its steadfast Catholicism, and its confidence that in the same way that God had granted victory to his faithful at Belgrade 12 years earlier, so he would in the Bohemian crown lands. Capistrano's cult was popular at Olomouc, where he had been engaged in the conversion of the utraquists as late as the summer of 1454; this work he had reluctantly left behind him when Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini begged him to help promote the crusade at the imperial diet at Frankfurt.³⁸ Many people who saw the fresco being unveiled in 1468 would therefore have seen and heard Capistrano preaching against the utraquists. Some of them would take part in the heavy fighting that occurred in Moravia that autumn; others would witness Matthias's election as king of Bohemia in Olomouc on May 3, 1469. Throughout Matthias' Bohemian intervention the city stood at the center of events.³⁹ Stanko Andrić was not exaggerating when he wrote that "The besieged and ardently defended town [namely Belgrade] was a metaphor of the country occupied by the Hussites. Capistran, tirelessly preaching the word of God, showed the way to victory."⁴⁰

Interesting though this metaphorical reading is, it does not exhaust the significance of the Olomouc fresco. In the first place, there is the intriguing

possibility that the unknown artist borrowed his goal and technique from the enemy. Andrić argued that the Olomouc fresco was “influenced by Hussite propaganda drawings,” an attractive hypothesis given the skill of the Hussites at communicating their message in visual terms, though not one that can be proven.⁴¹ Catholic apologists did not need to learn tricks from their opponents, but they might well have been stimulated by them to be more vigorous and inventive in their response. Secondly, there is a stronger argument that in the fresco we encounter a subtle but important refashioning of the role that Capistrano had played at Belgrade. From the very start the credit for Christian success had been claimed for both Capistrano and Hunyadi, and the debate continues to the present day about their respective contributions to the victory.⁴² The waters were muddied not just by the deaths of both men from plague very soon after the battle, but also by the complications surrounding their posthumous reputations. For Capistrano, credit for Belgrade would advance his supporters’ case for canonization; by contrast, the vanity to which his critics ascribed the dead preacher’s claims would have undermined it. In Hunyadi’s case, the reputation of his son Matthias stood to gain indirectly from his being accorded the lion’s share of credit for victory in 1456; conversely, his own standing, and indirectly that of Matthias, would suffer if the strident claims for a dominant leadership role that he advanced immediately after the success were shown to be hollow.

Against this fraught background, the Olomouc fresco may be said to steer a compromise course that would satisfy both camps. Capistrano and Hunyadi are both depicted on the walls of Belgrade. It might be thought that Capistrano has the advantage: he is shown larger than life, clutching a book—surely the Bible—in his right hand and defiantly showing the besieging Turks a picture of the suffering Savior with his left. He is stern, resolute, and dignified. Moreover, he is quite possibly also shown in the vanguard of the Christian assault on the right. By comparison, Hunyadi is comparatively inconspicuous. But the situation is not so straightforward. In the first place, none of the siege’s written sources showed Hunyadi playing any part in the foray on July 22. The Italian preacher’s dominant role in that encounter was uncontested; indeed Hunyadi’s military reputation would have been damaged if he had been associated with such a rash undertaking. In the second place, arguably the fresco’s most significant iconographic detail is the fact that Hunyadi holds the crusading banner. He is therefore given command over the defense of the city, including the many thousands of crusaders whom Capistrano had recruited for its relief, and who played a crucial role in the dramatic events of July 1456. This is a totally different interpretation from the one offered by the crusade’s most detailed and reliable written source, the lengthy text dated 1460—just a few years before the fresco—and written by the eyewitness Giovanni da Tagliacozzo. His testimony on the crusaders is detailed and consistent, and it deserves to be treated with respect. It was Capistrano who from first to last created the crusade of 1456: he recruited the volunteers, then assembled, commanded, and inspired them. Throughout Tagliacozzo’s account, Hunyadi plays a subsidiary role, indeed he is essentially a foil to the writer’s hero.

Hunyadi is portrayed as the experienced soldier, whose assessment of the hopelessness of the situation causes him to counsel the abandonment of Belgrade; Capistrano is the man of God, who places his trust in the Lord.⁴³

This is not to say that the Olomouc fresco represents a Corvinian appropriation of the relief of Belgrade, let alone Capistrano's marginalization. It is true that Capistrano has lost the banner of which Tagliacozzo makes great play in his account and which, as Roberto Rusconi showed, had already by 1468 established itself in Italian depictions of Capistrano. In peninsular depictions of the great Observant preachers it was customary to include symbols that were immediately recognizable: for Jacopo delle Marche the ampoule of holy blood, for Bernardino da Siena the Name of Jesus (YHS), for Bernardino da Feltre the *Mons Pietatis*.⁴⁴ In Capistrano's case the identifying symbol was his crusade banner. But it has been shown that in central European depictions of Capistrano the banner did not normally feature, so the Olomouc artist could simply have been following the tradition with which he was most familiar. The point for Matthias, as surely also for the legate Rovarella and Pope Paul II, was to make as clear an association as possible between what Hunyadi had achieved at Belgrade and what his son was trying to do in the Bohemian crown lands; that obviously called for a military profile that emphasized royal command and direction of the war effort against the utraquists. As for the Moravian Observants, they would be expected to preach against the utraquists, in this church and elsewhere, just as Capistrano had done against the Turks in Hungary, inspired by his (literally) towering example in the painting. The military situation in 1456 had been confused thanks to the chaos, verging on civil war, which prevailed amongst Hungary's political elite. In 1468 the political situation was clearer, both in Hungary and in Moravia.⁴⁵ The active assistance of the Observants counted for much to Matthias, just as it would to Sixtus 12 years later when he had to manage the Otranto crisis, and Matthias was a keen supporter both of the Hungarian brethren and of Capistrano's growing cult. He helped to lobby for the preacher's canonization.⁴⁶ Capistrano was indissolubly associated with the relief of Belgrade, and that fortress stood at the center of the Hungarian *antemurale*, for which the king unceasingly demanded support.

Except, of course, that if Olomouc was the new Belgrade, the old one would necessarily suffer the loss of both Matthias's attention and Hungary's resources. In 1465 Matthias declared to the pope that he was ready to take on either the utraquists or the Turks,⁴⁷ and in 1471 he extended this to the claim that with sufficient financial backing from the Italian powers he could manage both;⁴⁸ but he knew that this was not going to happen. Choosing the Bohemian option was bound to entail the deferral, at best, of offensive operations against the Turks. It was a decision for which some Hungarian historians have never forgiven him. After 1464 Matthias fought the Turks only very occasionally, indeed his relations with them became scarcely less convoluted than those of his neighboring *antemurale*. Like Venice, Matthias had answers ready for his critics. He had to stop Emperor Frederick III responding to the unwelcome extension of Corvinian power into Moravia by attacking him in the rear,

and strategically it made more sense to deter a full-scale Turkish invasion with a strongly fortified frontier, and to respond to their raiding parties with rapid and destructive reprisals, than to pour men and money into large-scale campaigning, particularly when there was no united Christian effort.⁴⁹ It is also true that in setting his sights on the Bohemian crown the king was responding to a papal invitation. For Paul II resolved on defeating Pödebrad by force, and he took the radical step of renewing the crusade against the *utraquists*. This made it all the more appropriate to equate Olomouc with Belgrade. It was possible that the Moravian Observants would be tasked with persuading their fellow citizens to do exactly what Capistrano had urged Germans, Austrians and Hungarians to do in 1454–56: that is, to take the cross in defense of their embattled faith. That they would be proposing to fight within Christendom's interior at the same time that the Turks were so close at hand was of course illustrative of another tension within crusading, one with a very long pedigree in terms of the papal curia's management of its role.⁵⁰

Maximilian of Austria and the "Theuerdank" Illustrations

When Matthias died in 1490 it was still possible to regard him as pivotal to the anti-Ottoman project: his demise was considered a serious blow to the crusade plan that was being laboriously negotiated at a congress convened at Rome.⁵¹ But in reality the baton of anticipated leadership had already passed to two other rulers, Charles VIII of France and Maximilian of Austria. Rivalry between France and Austria, precipitated by the dissolution of the Burgundian lands following Charles the Bold's death at the Battle of Nancy in 1477, included attempts by both powers to advance crusading claims with the goal of claiming the moral high ground. In the case of the Valois it was intermittent, thanks to the distance separating their lands from the Ottoman frontier and the commercial benefits of maintaining good relations with the sultan. But when Charles VIII invaded Italy in 1494, the idea of using the recovered kingdom of Naples as a springboard for a crusade did play a role in the way the French intervention was projected by royal publicists, partly in strategic terms that echoed the papal-Angevin program of the 1260s, and partly in terms of the prophetic currents that held a strong appeal for the ambitious young monarch.⁵² In such circumstances it was predictable that Maximilian, crossing the Alps to defend "his" Italian lands against French aggression, would advance a counterclaim that was also based on leadership of a crusade. His position was inherently stronger than that of Charles VIII or Louis XII. In the first place, as emperor-elect he had a moral duty to defend Christendom against the Turks, with whom Maximilian largely equated the French, and for that matter any of his other Christian enemies. As ruler of Austria he also had to assume the task of protecting his own lands and subjects against raiding parties which, especially following Croatia's crushing defeat in 1493, posed a substantial threat to the provinces of Carniola (Krain), Carinthia (Kärnten), and Styria.⁵³

The visual source that we shall be considering, the pictures that were composed to accompany Maximilian's verse epic *Theuerdank*, related less to Maximilian's imperial or Austrian responsibilities than to Burgundy's rich chivalric legacy. Maximilian gained access to this through his marriage to Charles the Bold's daughter Mary in 1477, and it is clear that he found it highly seductive. The crusading ambitions of the Valois dukes, in particular Philip the Good, had been characterized to an unusual degree by the concept of individual endeavor, operating within a collective ethos that was competitive, socially exclusive, and theatrical. Its epitome was the Feast of the Pheasant in 1454, when Philip used an extraordinary gathering of his nobles at Lille to secure vows to accompany him on crusade. Philip's planning for this expedition shows that behind the bravado that was astutely manipulated at Lille there lay not just a serious military intent but also sober reflection on how best to achieve it; for the nobles who committed themselves would be expected to play a mediatory role in raising some of the soldiers.⁵⁴ Maximilian's handling of the crusade bears many of the hallmarks of this approach, above all his persistent attempt to bring into being a confraternity or society of St. George which would function as the organizational vehicle for chivalric aspirations to fight against the Turks. On most occasions when Maximilian gave close attention to leading a crusade he tried to breathe life into the *societas sancti Georgii*, though he was never successful.⁵⁵ As Stephan Füßel and Larry Silver have demonstrated, this was complemented by Maximilian's exceptional interest in the use of both text and image to promote his worldview, in particular to persuade his hard-pressed subjects that they should hand over the money without which he could carry through none of his policies.⁵⁶

Where does *Theuerdank* fit into this? It was one of three German-language texts that Maximilian planned, all of which were to be accompanied by illustrations. Of the three texts only *Theuerdank* was completed, and in 1517, two years before Maximilian's death, it was printed at Augsburg by Schönsperger the Elder using a specially designed typeface, decorated with woodcuts by Leonhard Beck, Hans Schäufelein, and Hans Burgkmair. It was an exclusive edition of 40 parchment and 300 paper copies. This may not seem many, but it was probably enough to get Maximilian's message across to the elite whom he was hoping to impress. The eponymous hero is the emperor himself, who undergoes a series of adventures that serve to demonstrate his prowess and valor. The crusade emerges as a theme towards the end, when he reaches the realm of Queen Ehrenreich (standing for Mary of Burgundy). In chapter 113 Ehrenreich exhorts Theuerdank to lead a crusade against "the unbelieving enemy of Jesus Christ," a message that is reiterated by an angel that visits the hero in the course of the following night (chapter 115).⁵⁷ Ehrenreich repeats her request in chapter 116, and in chapter 117 Theuerdank is depicted by Beck leading his knights on crusade (Figure 11.4).⁵⁸ The final chapter, 118, shows Theuerdank standing triumphantly at the center of 14 swords forming a circle. It symbolizes his triumph over fortune's wheel, thanks to God's protection and his own excellence as a knight. This conclusion would certainly

Die gottlich Erwas in der seit
 Geschlossen vnd der eerlich streit
 Darinn welle behuetten got
 Sy bedesamb vor aller not.
 Wie der Edl Theurdank auf der künigin Vnreich bitt sein treffen-
 liche potschaft zu Vabstlicher heiligkeit schickte sine zu bitten all Chris-
 tenlich künig fürsten herren vnd Comaun zu bewegen sothen Eer-
 lichen züg mit sambt sine wider die vngelaubigen heessen fürzunehmen.



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11.4 The chivalric hero Theurdank leads his knights on crusade, *Theurdank*, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Rar. 325, ill. 117, 1517. Courtesy of Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München.

have appealed to Maximilian, who was proud of his Houdini-like ability to extricate himself from situations that seemed hopeless.

Chapter 117 of *Theuerdank* is interesting for two reasons. The first is the fact that Beck's attractive woodcut is followed by three blank pages. Later these pages were filled with manuscript lines that refer to further Ottoman conquests. They describe Theuerdank appealing for help to the pope, who responds by issuing a general summons to crusade. The anonymous author of this supplementary text can only express the pious hope that the Turks will be defeated. It may seem anomalous that Maximilian sanctioned the publication in 1517 of a work that adopted a literally "watch this space" approach to an aspiration that had formed one of the major themes of his reign. But Albrecht Dürer's woodcut for Maximilian's Arch of Honor, which also dates from 1517, similarly ends with an empty space. The coincidence is striking, and leads one to suspect that in the case of the arch also, the space represents the deferred but still hoped for expedition.⁵⁹ The implication is that at the end of his life Maximilian did not believe his crusade hopes to be futile, nor did he view his long series of unrealized projects as something for which he personally was culpable. On the contrary, his public pronouncements consistently show him criticizing either Christian enemies—above all, the French and the Swiss—for standing in his way, or the pope and the German diets for failing to give him the financial support that he needed. He personally was blameless. This is the paradox of *Theuerdank*: the lone chivalric hero might triumph over fortune's wheel, but he could hardly be expected to take on the might of the Ottoman sultanate singlehanded.⁶⁰ In which case, why include chapter 117 at all? Presumably because he refused to exclude his grandest project; after all, the intention was there.⁶¹

The other interesting feature of chapter 117 is the iconography depicted by Leonhard Beck. Theuerdank is emblazoned with the cross of St. George, which is also worn by three of the knights who are following him. So the *societas sancti Georgii* has been pressed into service to provide at least some of the warriors whom Theuerdank/Maximilian needs for his crusading venture.⁶² Silver has adduced a good deal of visual evidence to show Maximilian's strong self-identification with the saint. Inge Wiesflecker-Friedhuber wrote that amongst other things the *societas sancti Georgii* formed "a sort of spiritual homeland" for him,⁶³ and the veneration that he felt towards the saint and all that he stood for was deep and enduring. It first was anticipated at the baptismal font, when his parents debated whether to call him George.⁶⁴ It again was there at the end of his life, when Daniel Hopfer literally fused the emperor with the saint in an etching that amongst other telling indicators showed the dragon underfoot.⁶⁵ Most strikingly, there is Burgkmair's colored woodcut of Maximilian on horseback, together with its pendant, *St. George on Horseback* (1508). The similarity between the two is indisputable, but just as significant is the overarching imperial and crusading context to Burgkmair's work. For 1508 was the year in which Maximilian finally achieved coronation, at Trent on February 4, while in December at Cambrai he concluded a crusading league with the pope and the kings of France and Aragon: though it should

be added that the league's primary target was Venice. In common with other visual sources for Maximilian's reign, the *Theuerdank* woodcuts confirm that he felt at home with an essentially eclectic worldview, one that interwove dynastic, imperial, crusading, and chivalric motifs. But St. George was never far from view.



Three points should be made by way of conclusion. The first is to emphasize the volume and diversity of the surviving visual sources for crusading in this period. We have seen that they include works by some of the greatest artists of the Italian and northern Renaissances. This is unsurprising given what we know about the geographical impact of crusading ideas and practices in the fifteenth century, and about the way the struggle against the Turks was taken up by courts and urban patriciates that were major artistic commissioners. The handful of works discussed above could easily be extended by others whose crusading association has been explored, and it is likely that more await interpretation in similar terms.⁶⁶ In the second place, as commented earlier, in these works the crusade is referenced in a broad spectrum of ways. We have witnessed Titian, Pinturicchio, and Beck making what amounted to overt references to actual or planned crusading enterprises. Like Titian, the painter of the Olomouc fresco was depicting a crusading victory, but he was linking it to a different type of crusade, one that was much closer to home for most of the people who were likely to see his work. Masterpieces by Piero della Francesca and Benedetto da Maiano present problems of interpretation which, in the case of Piero, may never be resolved. Then there is Felice Feliciano's depiction of the Italian states and the Turks, which references crusading in a fascinating though obscure manner. Finally, the best visual sources share with their textual counterparts the capacity to cast light on the issues that made crusade planning so problematic, and which in the end wrecked plans for a unified Christian response to the Turks. The most important of these was divergence of interest, with all the difficulties that it created in terms of the raising, management, and direction of resources. As a result, it would be many years before Feliciano's dragon was stopped in its tracks.

Notes

- 1 Referencing will be kept to a minimum; for fuller documentation and discussion of the issues raised in this chapter see my monograph, *Crusading and the Ottoman Threat, 1453–1505* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).
- 2 Silvia Ronchey, "Malatesta/Paleologhi. Un'alleanza dinastica per rifondare Bisanzio nel quindicesimo secolo," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 93 (2000): pp. 521–67; *L'Enigma di Piero. L'ultimo bizantino e la crociata fantasma nella rivelazione di un grande quadro* (Milan: Biblioteca Universale Rizzoli, 2006). For the background see Carlo Ginzburg, *The Enigma of Piero: Piero della Francesca*, trans. Martin Kyle and Kate Soper, 2nd ed. (London: Verso, 2002).
- 3 Dillian Gordon, *Making and Meaning: The Wilton Diptych* (London: National Gallery Publications, 1993). See also Dillian Gordon, Lisa Monnas, and Caroline Elam (eds), *The Regal Image of Richard II and the Wilton Diptych* (London: Harvey Miller, 1997).
- 4 For the earlier period see Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), ch. 4.

- 5 Franz Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and his Time*, (ed.) William C. Hickman, trans. Ralph Manheim (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), pp. 386–8, with illustrations; James Hankins, “Renaissance Crusaders: Humanist Crusade Literature in the Age of Mehmed II,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 (1995): pp. 125–6, esp. n. 36.
- 6 Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ. 157, fols. 95–9, illustration at fol. 96v. I am grateful to James Hankins for bringing this text to my attention and to David Gentilcore for help in transcribing and translating it. A full color image can be seen online via the Harvard University Library Page Delivery Service. Available at: <http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/16110663?n=196&printThumbnails=no> [accessed October 22, 2013].
- 7 For Feliciano see Charles Mitchell, “Felice Feliciano antiquarius,” *Proceedings of the British Academy* 47 (1961): pp. 197–221; *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 46 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1996), pp. 83–90.
- 8 Generally on prophecies see Ottavia Niccoli, *Prophecy and People in Renaissance Italy*, trans. L.G. Cochrane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).
- 9 In general, see Ermanno Orlando, “Venezia e la conquista turca di Otranto (1480–1481). Incroci, responsabilità, equivoci negli equilibri europei,” in *La conquista turca di Otranto (1480) tra storia e mito*, (ed.) Hubert Houben, 2 vols (Galatina: Congedo Editore, 2008), 1:177–209.
- 10 On the crisis, Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571)*, 4 vols (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1976–84), vol. 2, p. 367, n. 13.
- 11 *Pii II Commentarii rerum memorabilium que temporibus suis contigerunt*, (ed.) Adrian van Heck, 2 vols, Studi e testi 312–13 (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1984), vol. 1, pp. 222–5 (bk. 3, ch. 35).
- 12 Setton, *The Papacy*, vol. 2, p. 533, n. 108.
- 13 Johann Burchard, *Liber notarum*, (ed.) Enrico Celani, 2 vols., *Rerum italicarum scriptores* 32 (Città di Castello: Coi tipi della casa editrice S. Lapi, 1907–42), part 1, p. 572.
- 14 Harold E. Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian*, vol. 1 (London: Phaidon, 1969), pp. 152–3, plates 144–6.
- 15 Though as Wethey pointed out, the Borgia coat of arms features on the papal banner in the later picture (*Ibid.*, p. 152).
- 16 In the *Commentarii* Pius highlighted the difficulties that he faced in mobilizing Christian Europe against the Turks, with the intention of emphasizing his heroic persistence against all odds. For further on the Pinturicchio frescoes see Nora Lambert’s essay in this volume.
- 17 A full color image of the pulpit may be seen online at Wikimedia Commons. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Benedetto_da_Maiano,_pulpito_di_s._croce_08_miracolo_di_san_francesco.JPG [accessed October 22, 2013].
- 18 For what follows see Doris Carl, “Franziskanischer Märtyrerkult als Kreuzzugspropaganda an der Kanzel von Benedetto da Maiano in Santa Croce in Florenz,” *Mitteilungen des kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 39 (1995): pp. 69–91. A more recent overview is Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby, “The Santa Croce Pulpit in Context: Sermons, Art and Space,” *Artibus et Historiae* 29 (2008): pp. 75–93.
- 19 On this I follow Carl, who opts for the Marrakesh group despite the fact that there are more than five figures in the relief (“Franziskanischer Märtyrerkult,” p. 70); Debby argues for the Ceuta martyrdom of 1227, not just because the numbers agree but also because the Ceuta victims were Tuscan friars, which would have held more appeal for a Florentine audience (“The Santa Croce Pulpit,” p. 88).
- 20 Though as Debby has pointed out, Benedetto’s depiction of the Muslims is somewhat nuanced: two half-naked spectators look on in sadistic glee, but a courtier is gesturing in shock at the executions (“The Santa Croce Pulpit,” pp. 87–8).
- 21 *Bullarium Franciscanum*, (ed.) Joseph M. Pou y Marti and Caesar Cenci, Nova Series 2–4 (Quaracchi and Rome: Editiones Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1939–90), vol. 3, pp. 766–8, no. 1516.
- 22 Even before Otranto’s recovery the pope was willing to back a Palaeologan project to recover the Peloponnese (Setton, *Papacy*, vol. 2, p. 373).
- 23 *Bullarium*, vol. 3, pp. 806–7, no. 1574.
- 24 *Ibid.*, p. 810, no. 1582.
- 25 *Ibid.*, p. 813, no. 1588; also in Joseph Schlecht, *Andrea Zamometić und der Basler Konzilsversuch vom Jahre 1482*, 2 vols. (Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1903), vol. 2, p. 114, no. 101.
- 26 *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 132–3; Nikolaus Paulus, *Geschichte des Ablasses am Ausgange des Mittelalters* (Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1923) *Geschichte des Ablasses im Mittelalter*, vol. 3, p. 207; Ludwig Pastor,

- The History of the Popes*, English translation, vols 2–6, 5th/7th edns (London, 1949–50), vol. 4, pp. 357–66.
- 27 Schlecht, *Zamometić*, vol. 1, pp. 83–4; vol. 2, pp. 50–51, no. 34, also in *Bullarium*, vol. 3, p. 807, no. 1575.
 - 28 E.g. Schlecht, *Zamometić*, vol. 2, pp. 55–60, no. 39, at p. 59; Attila Györkös, “La guerre des Pazzi et les relations franco-hongroises (1478–1481),” in *Matthias and his Legacy: Cultural and Political Encounters between East and West*, (ed.) Attila Bárány and Attila Györkös (Debrecen: University of Debrecen Press, 2009), pp. 393–404.
 - 29 E.g. Schlecht, *Zamometić*, vol. 2, pp. 123–4, no. 113 (Nürnberg lobbying for retention of half of its chest’s contents to alleviate poverty, July 20, 1482).
 - 30 Setton, *Papacy*, vol. 2, pp. 371–3, takes Sixtus’s various pronouncements at face value. For a more critical interpretation see Francesco Somaini, “La curia romana e la crisi di Otranto,” in *La conquista turca di Otranto (1480) tra storia e mito*, (ed.) Hubert Houben, 2 vols (Galatina: Congedo Editore, 2008), vol. 1, pp. 211–62.
 - 31 *Annales ecclesiastici*, (ed.) O. Raynaldus and G.D. Mansi, vols 9–10 (Lucca, 1752–53), ad annum 1481, nos 20–23, 11:5–7.
 - 32 Lorenzo de’ Medici, *Lettere*, V (1480–1481), (ed.) Michael Mallett (Florence, 1989), pp. 122–36, no. 482.
 - 33 Somaini, “La curia romana,” pp. 244–5, and more broadly pp. 248–9.
 - 34 Lorenzo de’ Medici, *Lettere*, V, pp. 81–92, no. 473, at pp. 83–4.
 - 35 Franco Cardini, *The Chapel of the Magi in Palazzo Medici* (Florence: Mandragora, 2001).
 - 36 A full color image of the fresco may be seen online at Wikimedia Commons. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Fresco_siege_of_Belgrade_1456_in_Olomouc.jpg [accessed October 22, 2013].
 - 37 Norman Housley, “Giovanni da Capistrano and the Crusade of 1456,” in *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century: Message and Impact*, (ed.) Norman Housley (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2004), pp. 94–115, 215–24.
 - 38 Johannes Hofer, *Johannes Kapistran: Ein Leben im Kampf um die Reform der Kirche*, 2 vols (Rev. repr., Heidelberg: Kerle, 1964–65), vol. 2, p. 303.
 - 39 The most detailed account in English is Frederick G. Heymann, *George of Bohemia: King of Heretics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), ch. 20–22.
 - 40 Stanko Andrić, *The Miracles of St John Capistran* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2000), p. 158.
 - 41 Ibid. For the Hussite efforts see Thomas Fudge, *The Magnificent Ride: The First Reformation in Hussite Bohemia* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), ch. 4, esp. pp. 226–51.
 - 42 In my opinion the issue has been settled, to Capistrano’s benefit, by the painstaking and impartial study by Johannes Hofer, “Der Sieger von Belgrad 1456,” *Historisches Jahrbuch* 51 (1931): pp. 163–221. But the Hunyadi lobby remains persistent.
 - 43 Giovanni da Tagliacozzo, “Relatio de victoria Belgradensi,” in *Annales minorum*, (ed.) Joseph M. Fonseca, 25 vols, 3rd ed. (Quaracchi, 1931–35), vol. 12, pp. 750–96.
 - 44 Roberto Rusconi, “Giovanni da Capestrano: Iconografia di un predicatore nell’Europa del ‘400,” *Venezie Francescane* 6 (1989): pp. 31–60.
 - 45 This is not to say that it was wholly favorable, since Matthias never succeeded in controlling Bohemia and had to quell a serious conspiracy in Hungary in 1471.
 - 46 E.g. *Mátyás Király Levelei. Külügyi Osztály*, (ed.) Vilmos Fraknói, 2 vols (Budapest: A M.T. Akadémia Történelmi, 1893–95), vol. 1, pp. 10–13, no. 8, lobbying in 1460, allegedly as soon as domestic circumstances permitted.
 - 47 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 114, no. 78.
 - 48 *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia*, (ed.) Augustin Theiner, 2 vols (Rome: Typis Vaticanis, 1859–60), vol. 2, p. 421, no. 600.
 - 49 Pál Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526*, trans. Tamás Pálosfalvi (London: I.B. Tauris, 2001), pp. 306–9.
 - 50 Norman Housley, *The Italian Crusades 1254–1343* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982). Paul’s quandary following the fall of Negroponte is well illustrated by *Vetera monumenta*, (ed.) Theiner, vol. 2, p. 241, no. 600.

- 51 Sigismondo de' Conti da Foligno, *Le storie de' suoi tempi dal 1475 al 1510*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1883), vol. 2, p. 4 (bk. 9, ch. 2).
- 52 Jacques Paviot is studying the crusade program of the Valois kings. For the moment the best study is Yvonne Labande-Mailfert, *Charles VIII et son milieu (1470–1498): La jeunesse au pouvoir* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1975).
- 53 See the fundamental study by Hermann Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I. Das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit*, 5 vols (Munich and Vienna: R. Oldenbourg Verlag/Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1971–86). Wiesflecker also produced a useful single volume summary of his research, *Maximilian I. Die Fundamente des habsburgischen Weltreiches* (Vienna and Munich: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik/R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1991).
- 54 Generally on the Burgundian crusade see Jacques Paviot, *Les ducs de Bourgogne, la croisade et l'Orient (fin XIVe siècle – XVe siècle)* (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2003).
- 55 Inge Wiesflecker-Friedhuber, "Maximilian I. und der St. Georgs-Ritterorden. Zur Frage seiner Ordenszugehörigkeit," *Forschungen zur Landes- und Kirchengeschichte. Festschrift Helmut J. Mezler-Andelberg zum 65. Geburtstag* (Graz: Eigenverlag des Instituts für Geschichte der Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz, 1988), pp. 543–54.
- 56 Stephan Füssel, *Emperor Maximilian and the Media of his Day: The Theuerdank of 1517, a Cultural-Historical Introduction* (Cologne: Taschen, 2003); Larry Silver, *Marketing Maximilian: The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008).
- 57 *Theuerdank*, Facsimile of the 1517 ed. (Cologne: Taschen, 2003), ch. 113; Füssel, *Emperor Maximilian*, pp. 32–5.
- 58 A full color image can be seen online via the Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum Digitale Bibliothek. Available at: http://dfg-viewer.de/show/?set%5Bimage%5D=563&set%5Bzoom%5D=default&set%5Bdebug%5D=0&set%5Bdouble%5D=0&set%5Bmets%5D=http%3A%2F%2Fdaten.digitalisierungs-zentrum.de%2F~db%2Fmets%2Fbsb00013106_mets.xml [accessed October 22, 2013].
- 59 Stephan Füssel, "Die Funktionalisierung der 'Türkenfurcht' in der Propaganda Kaiser Maximilians I.," in *Osmanische Expansion und europäischer Humanismus*, (ed.) Franz Fuchs (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2005), p. 26 with illustration at p. 27; Füssel, *Emperor Maximilian*, pp. 19, 86.
- 60 Hence the hope expressed to the king of Hungary in April 1497 that Maximilian and Bayezid II might resolve the Christian–Ottoman struggle through a duel. See *Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Maximilian I. Sechster Band. Reichstage von Lindau, Worms und Freiburg 1496–1498*, (ed.) Heinz Gollwitzer, *Deutsche Reichstagsakten, mittlere Reihe*, 6 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), pp. 368–9.
- 61 *Theuerdank*, ch. 117; Füssel, *Emperor Maximilian*, p. 86.
- 62 Wiesflecker-Friedhuber, "Maximilian I.," p. 553. For the insignia see Albrecht Altdorf's woodcut for the Arch of Honor, reproduced in Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, p. 116, Figure 42.
- 63 Wiesflecker-Friedhuber, "Maximilian I.," p. 554.
- 64 Interestingly, both alternative names implicitly referenced the crusade: Constantine would have served as a marker for the recovery of Constantinople, while the name that was chosen derived from Maximilian of Lorch, who was a Bosnian martyr. See Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, pp. 118 and 263–4, n. 39, for text.
- 65 See especially *ibid.*, pp. 109–45.
- 66 E.g. Claudia Märkl, "Donatello's Judith—Ein Denkmal der Türkenkriegspropaganda des 15. Jahrhunderts?," in *Osmanische Expansion und europäischer Humanismus*, (ed.) Franz Fuchs (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2005), pp. 53–95.

Reframing the Crusade in the Piccolomini Library: Pinturicchio's "Standing Turk" in Siena Cathedral, 1502–1508

Nora S. Lambert

In 1494, Cardinal Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini (1439–1503) commissioned the construction of a library in honor of his uncle, Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (1405–64). While Aeneas began his career as a renowned humanist orator, author, and bibliophile, he lived the last six years of his life as Pope Pius II. The Piccolomini Library, incorporated into the northwest side of Siena Cathedral on the site of the former canonry, was to house Aeneas's own writings, along with his literary collections and those of Francesco. Between 1502 and 1508, the Umbrian artist Bernardino di Betto (1454–1513), better known as Pinturicchio, decorated the library's walls with a series of 10 frescoes celebrating pivotal moments in Aeneas's career. These frescoes, which show Aeneas's progression from secular scholar to St. Peter's successor, argue for the inseparability of classical learning and Christian theology. Such imagery would have been particularly pertinent in a space that, while under the auspices of Siena's most important religious building, was meant for intellectual pursuits.

Pinturicchio's brightly colored and gilded narrative of Pius's life begins on the northeast wall and wraps clockwise around three of the four walls like the pages of a colossal illuminated manuscript. The first four scenes portray events from Aeneas's international career as a diplomat and orator. The shorter southern wall contains two frescoes depicting his earlier clerical career, while the western wall displays four significant moments from Pius's papacy, two of which directly reference his crusading endeavors—*Pope Pius II Presides over the Diet of Mantua*, and the culminating scene, *The Arrival of Pope Pius II at Ancona* (Figures 12.1 and 12.2). This final fresco focuses on Pius's ultimate attempt to launch a crusade against the Ottoman Turks. While the first nine scenes portray ceremonial or somewhat dramatized versions of historic events, this fresco is unique in that it blatantly illustrates an encounter that never transpired.



12.1 Pinturicchio, *Pope Pius II Presides over the Diet of Mantua*, fresco, Piccolomini Library, Siena Cathedral, 1502–1508. Gianni Dagli Orti/The Art Archive at Art Resource, NY.



12.2 Pinturicchio, *The Arrival of Pope Pius II at Ancona*, fresco, Piccolomini Library, Siena Cathedral, 1502–1508. Gianni Dagli Orti/The Art Archive at Art Resource, NY.

Throughout his life, Pius continuously expounded on the imminent danger posed by the Ottomans, as well as on the necessity of a more unified Europe, in letters, bulls, books, and published orations. As one of the most prolific writers on the Turkish threat, he both reflected and shaped its image for his audience. Though the way he wrote about this threat would change over the course of his literary and clerical career, his writings maintained an unyielding conviction in a return to crusading as its only possible solution. As Aeneas, he failed to exhort preceding popes to launch a crusade. He thus hoped that his own papal authority would suffice in convincing European leaders to heed his warnings and collaborate with him. These hopes were never realized. Indeed, his efforts at launching a crusade were a failure. He was unable to muster significant support and saw minimal action. In June 1464, aging and in ill health, he embarked from Rome on a long and arduous trip to the Adriatic port city of Ancona. Upon reaching his destination, he was dismayed to discover that no armies awaited him. Although from a distance he witnessed the eventual arrival of the Venetian fleet on August 12, Pius died in his sleep just three nights later.

In contrast with this lackluster series of events, Pinturicchio's rather embellished version of the pope's last attempt to launch a campaign against the Ottoman Turks is assuredly triumphant. The event takes place outdoors, on an imagined plot of land extending from the creatively rendered cityscape and harbor of Ancona. Blessed with good weather and clear skies, Pius is seated in the center of a large, reverential crowd, high in the air on his *sedia gestatoria*. Though his face indicates his advanced age and poor health, he remains an imposing figure in his papal regalia. To his right is the formidable enemy, a turbaned Turk who stares menacingly out of the picture. Two birds dramatically swoop in from the top right of the composition towards a tall tree that extends the length of the scene. In the harbor, sailors ready a crusade ship bearing the Piccolomini coat of arms to sail on its fictional journey. Ancona's medieval fortress wall extends behind the ship and across the width of the composition to meet the city's hilly topography, capped by the Cathedral of San Ciriaco, where Pius would meet his end.

Current scholarship maintains that *The Arrival* depicts an appropriately celebratory, albeit re-imagined, representation of Pius's trip to Ancona. In this version of events, Pius has successfully achieved his goal of uniting Eastern and Western Europe in a campaign against the Turks, here represented by one of two pretenders to the Ottoman throne: either Prince Jem (1459–95), the younger son of Sultan Mehmed II (1432–81), or Celepino Bajezid (d. 1496), Mehmed's self-proclaimed half-brother.¹ I would offer instead that rather than illustrate any one individual, this image pointedly depicts the archetypal Turk as an ever-present foe who has yet to be vanquished. By portraying the crusade as an incomplete yet crucial project, this fresco underscores the continued validity and vitality of Aeneas's unheeded written warnings against the Ottoman threat to Western knowledge and culture—and thus of the very items the Piccolomini Library was to have held. Furthermore, in rendering this large, imposing Turk as a danger to the contents and activities

of the overtly classicized library itself, Cardinal Francesco would have been directly echoing his uncle's concerns for Europe's cultural and intellectual primacy.²

Aeneas's writings themselves provide the reasoning behind this argument. Examining his texts in conjunction with the library's image of the Turk reveals that they served as the essential inspiration for Pinturicchio's fictionalized fresco. What is more, the ready dismissal of Aeneas's writings by his contemporaries also suggests why Cardinal Francesco, in both his selection of a painter and his prescription of the subject matter, would have been at pains to portray his uncle's final crusade as an incomplete endeavor of the utmost importance. Indeed, direct parallels exist between Aeneas's printed legacy—particularly his belief in the crusade as the ideal unifying activity of a fractured Europe and his deployment of classical rhetoric as the means by which he makes his argument—and the imagery commissioned decades later by his nephew.

Scholars have long realized that the ten scenes commissioned by Francesco are based on multiple late fifteenth-century biographies of Pius (namely those by Jacopo Piccolomini-Ammannati, Giovanni Campano, and Bartolomeo Platina), as well as on Pius's autobiography, *The Commentaries*, which in 1502 still remained an unpublished manuscript in the cardinal's possession.³ Not only was the very fact of an autobiography a sign of Pius's pioneering spirit—he was the only pope to author one—but the autobiography itself is notable as an exercise in classical rhetoric. With its third person narrative, the work is clearly based on and titled after the Latin *Commentaries* of Julius Caesar, himself a noted author and orator.⁴

And yet it is only recently that scholars have begun to closely explore the complex and multivalent relationship between contemporary texts and Pinturicchio's imagery. For instance, Stratton Davis Green has demonstrated essential connections between humanist funerary rhetoric and the library's fresco cycle, revealing the way in which the Latin epitaphs below each of the 10 scenes perform as epideictic funeral oration.⁵ Meanwhile, Thomas Izbicki has shown the extent to which Pius's autobiography affected Pinturicchio's pictorial representation of the pontiff's life, arguing for parallels between Pius's embarrassment regarding his own enthusiastic participation in the Council at Basel and the way in which the fresco cycle eliminated any reference to his early support for the antipope, Felix V (r. 1440–49).⁶

However, no prior study has offered a convincing explanation for the unmistakably fictional character of the tenth and final scene—a scene, I suggest, that has its roots in Aeneas's extensive written works on the necessity of a crusade against the Turks, and not just his concluding effort to galvanize one. While impassioned calls to crusade are usually considered the purview of medieval clerics and scholars, Aeneas's early writings have been examined in recent years by historians who have sought to understand humanist responses to the Ottoman advance on Western Europe.⁷ Though such studies have demonstrated that Renaissance humanists certainly did not regard Islam with a universal outlook, they have also shown that fifteenth-century crusade

rhetoric widely possesses a peculiar character that separates it from its better-known medieval precedents. As Nancy Bisaha argues, “central to the ways in which humanists challenged medieval perceptions of the Turks ... was the preoccupation with classical motifs. Humanists revived classical rhetoric and employed it in the wholly new context of the Turkish threat and crusade.”⁸

Such changes in crusade rhetoric would certainly have been accelerated by the Greek loss of Constantinople to the ever-expanding Ottoman Empire. On April 6, 1453, Sultan Mehmed brutally besieged the capital of the declining Byzantine Empire. His expedient conquest took less than two months to accomplish, culminating in a decisive victory on the twenty-ninth of May.⁹ His troops immediately sacked the city, claiming countless civilian lives, assaulting women and children, and defiling churches, libraries, and homes.

Though physically far removed from the conflict, Aeneas—then a poet, orator, and diplomat at the court of Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III (r. 1452–93)—felt deeply affected. The prolific author composed numerous letters expressing his anxious preoccupation with the siege, desperately hoping that no news might be good news. Ten days after Mehmed’s first salvo, Aeneas wrote to Cardinal Juan de Carvajal, stating, “We hear nothing about the Turk. Would that we might never hear anything! For there is no word of him unless he is up to some harm.”¹⁰ Aeneas further composed what would eventually become his famous letter to Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa, writing “Concerning the Turk I neither hear anything nor want to do so, for whenever word comes of him, it portends evil for Christendom.”¹¹

Aeneas’s hopes were dashed, however, when approximately six weeks later news of Mehmed’s victory reached Frederick’s court. Upon learning of the fall of Constantinople and its new designation as the capital of the Ottoman Empire, Aeneas again turned to letters. He penned a particularly striking message to fellow bibliophile Pope Nicholas V (r. 1447–55). Though some passages simply echoed Aeneas’s prior missives to clerics, such as the instance in which he refers to the Ottomans as enemies of the faith, his ultimate concerns differed quite markedly. For the first time, Aeneas expressed fear not just for Christendom, but also of the threat to classical learning and culture advanced by Mehmed’s raids:

I grieve that Santa Sophia, the most famous church in all the world, has been ruined or polluted. I grieve that saints’ basilica without number, built with wondrous skill, should lie beneath the desolation or defilement of Mohammed. What shall I say of the countless books, as yet unknown to the Latins, which were there in Constantinople? Alas, how many names of great men will now perish! Here is a second death for Homer and a second destruction of Plato. Where are we now to seek the philosophers’ and the poets’ works of genius? The fount of the Muses has been destroyed.¹²

This impassioned lament exemplifies Aeneas’s decades-long obsession with the Turkish advance, an advance that he believed was made possible by Europe’s dissidence and fragmentation. Without question, Aeneas’s letter to Nicholas V demonstrates not only that his calls for a crusade sharply departed

from the predominantly religious rhetoric of medieval appeals, but that his obsession with crusading began long before the start of his clerical career.

As a humanist, Aeneas was certainly not alone in promoting the crusade. Indeed, this concern is securely located within the larger Renaissance discovery of ancient culture. As Bisaha has observed, humanist scholarship became one way to revise Western perceptions of Islam such that it became not just a religious threat, but a political and cultural one as well.¹³ Among these humanists, however, Aeneas was one of the crusade's most vigorous proponents. Moreover, he frequently framed his argument from a humanist position, writing in one letter:

Until today, there remained a record of ancient wisdom in Constantinople, and as though it were the home of letters, no Latin seemed learned enough unless he had studied awhile in Constantinople. The fame accorded to Athens as the seat of wisdom while Rome flourished, seemed to apply to Constantinople.¹⁴

Here, Aeneas was drawing a direct connection between Constantinople and Athens, the birthplace of humanist philosophy. His emphasis was not on religion, but on the Turkish threat to classical learning. Forty years later, this theme would play out visually on the walls of the Piccolomini Library.¹⁵ The Turk commissioned by Cardinal Francesco would be represented not just as an enemy of the faith, but, as he stares aggressively at the Library's presumed patrons, as a threat to Western scholarship and knowledge.

In addition to speaking out against the perceived threat to classical learning posed by the Turks, Aeneas and his fellow humanists began to frame their opposition to them in racial and cultural terms, similar to the way the ancient Greeks had once described their Persian enemies. According to Aeneas, the Turkish threat was inherently related to the Turks' designation as "barbarians" who were culturally and racially distinct from Europeans. To demonstrate this point, Aeneas wrote two geographic treatises, *Europa* and *Asia*, in which he traced the Turks' ethnic origins to the ostensibly barbarous and illiterate ancient Scythians. Most importantly, Aeneas believed that the Turks had to descend from the Scythians and not the Trojans (as many thought), because the "Romans, who are of Trojan origin, did not hate literature."¹⁶ In his view, the Turks' lineage made them incapable of appreciating the cultural value of Byzantium, and therefore capable of its destruction.¹⁷

He further considered the Turks' vandalism of the culturally rich Constantinople—and in particular, its libraries and churches—to be entirely unprecedented, even when comparing them to the Persians. Aeneas made this point explicitly in his letter to Nicholas of Cusa, writing:

Xerxes and Darius, who once afflicted Greece with great disasters, waged war on men, not letters. However much the Romans reduced the Greeks to their power, they not only did not reject Greek letters, but they are reputed to have embraced and venerated them ... Now under Turkish rule the opposite will come to pass, for [they are] savage men hostile to good manners and to good literature.¹⁸

Like Aeneas's belief in the Turkish threat to classical learning, his self-serving written construction of the enemy as a cultural other found its visual parallel

in the Piccolomini Library fresco cycle. Furthermore, Pinturicchio's culturally accurate rendering of the Piccolomini Turk suggested authenticity in the same way that Aeneas's classical sources suggested impartial truth. Needless to say, it was "truth" as perceived and constructed by Europeans, using ostensible objectivity in service of their subjective view.

If humanists appropriated classical rhetoric to frame the argument for the Turk as both a racial other *and* a threat to higher learning, they also created a new lexicon used in the argument over the Turkish advance, while adopting and adapting the issue to suit their own motives. As Margaret Meserve has explained, Aeneas was one of the most notable authors to appropriate the Turkish threat in service of his needs.¹⁹ Indeed, by the time he ascended to the papacy in 1458, he believed crusading to be a matter of both personal and political importance. He considered the reconquest of Ottoman territory crucial to European security, while still thinking of crusading as a useful framework for his domestic ambitions, namely the restoration of papal power in Rome and the re-establishment of Rome's antique glory along with it. Pius clearly viewed a potential crusade as the means by which to achieve multiple goals, not only the renewal of Rome and the re-affirmation of papal power, but also—and most importantly—the unification of divided European states.

To be sure, Pius's concern about the strength of the Turks was matched by his anxiety about the fractiousness of Europe and the disparate state of Christianity. From Pius's perspective, Christian Europe's failure to overcome the Turkish advance was the express consequence of weakened Church authority, inept internal leadership, constant political strife, and competing commercial and social interests. Thus, as Meserve argues, in attempting to launch a crusade against the Ottoman Empire, Pius aimed to both defend the Church and transform western Christendom into a more unified political entity.²⁰

Aeneas's writings undeniably attest to this point of view. While still at the court of Frederick III in 1454, he lamented, "Do you see how men act, and what our princes do? Do you see the sink of greed, sloth, and gluttony that lies open before us? ... Do you think that an army of Turks can be defeated by men of such character?"²¹ As this missive makes clear, Aeneas believed the Turks were able to gain power because European leaders, preoccupied by their own problems and governed above all by self-interest, had relinquished a sense of collective wellbeing. So while he viewed the crusade as a means by which to unite divided European states, he also bemoaned the vast challenge of the endeavor:

What grounds are there for hope? Christendom has no head whom all will obey—neither the pope nor the emperor receives his due. There is no respect, nor obedience: we think of pope and emperor alike as figureheads, rulers in name alone. Every city has its own prince; there are as many lords as there are households. How do you persuade the crowns of Christendom to take up arms together?²²

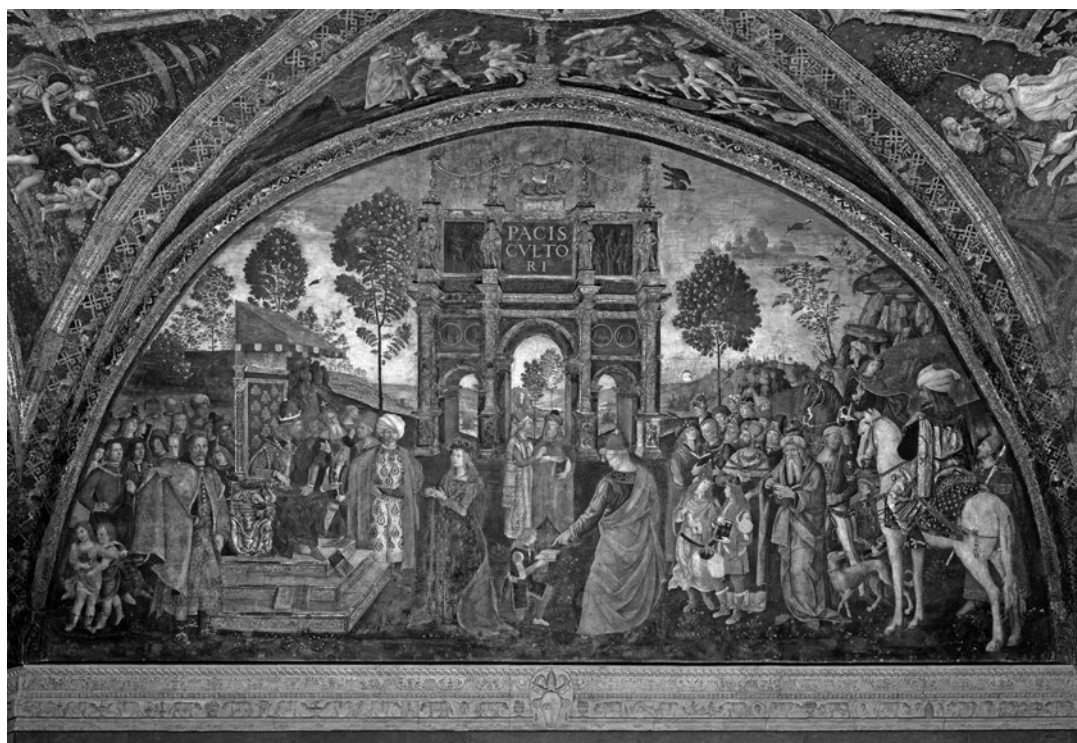
As Pope Pius, Aeneas fared no better. While critics of his papacy continued to deride his attention to the crusade as excessive and superfluous, arguing that it came at the expense of addressing more serious and immediate problems, Pius maintained his view of the Turkish advance as symptomatic of inter-European division and remained committed to the crusade as its best solution.

These brief excerpts from Aeneas's writings help to illuminate their inherent connection to the Piccolomini Library fresco cycle. Each aspect of the Piccolomini Library, from the selection of the artist to the minute details of the painted decoration within, displays Cardinal Francesco's desire to import Roman humanism and its antique idiom to his native Siena. Indeed, the very act of building a library was an exemplar of *all'antica* patronage. Moreover, Cardinal Francesco's commission, designed and executed by Pinturicchio and his workshop, reframed both the image of the Turk and his uncle's life in a classical visual vocabulary, just as Aeneas had once reframed the written image of the Turk in classical rhetoric.

By the time Cardinal Francesco and Pinturicchio met, likely in the early 1490s, the painter had become the preferred choice for prominent patrons desiring large-scale *all'antica* fresco cycles. Throughout the 1470s and 1480s, Pinturicchio established himself as a crucial proponent of the antique style, with his ornamental grotesques and use of illusionistic architecture as the organizing structure for narrative and biographical fresco cycles in papal Rome.²³ Such motifs, which would find their ultimate expression in the decoration of the Piccolomini Library, were widely known in the Renaissance as having originated from ancient monuments and texts.²⁴ They would certainly have appealed to the papacy at the end of the fifteenth century, as the Curia had only recently returned to Rome in 1420 and would have thus sought to associate the Church with the city's glorious past. Likewise, this style would have attracted humanist patrons seeking to connect themselves with antiquity—including, of course, Cardinal Francesco. Indeed, Pinturicchio's reputation as an innovative *all'antica* painter for illustrious clerics and humanists is arguably the primary reason why Francesco selected him.

While Pinturicchio's Roman commissions suggest Francesco's motivations for choosing Pinturicchio as his own painter, the papal commission that would most tellingly anticipate the library's final fresco was still to come. In 1492, the Spanish Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia ascended the papal throne as Alexander VI (r. 1492–1503). Soon after his coronation, he appointed Pinturicchio as his court painter and commissioned him to decorate his private apartments in the Apostolic Palace of the Vatican. Between 1492 and 1494, Pinturicchio and his workshop filled five rooms with an astonishing array of elaborate frescoes intended to promulgate the ostensibly divine ancestry of the Borgia family. Francesco likely would have been impressed by the skill with which Pinturicchio glorified this papal family—yet another reason, perhaps, why he would soon hire the painter to glorify his own.

The most significant commonality between the Borgia Apartments and the Piccolomini Library is that Pinturicchio included in the apartments the same Turkish figure he would later paint into the final scene of the library fresco



12.3 Pinturicchio, *The Disputation of St. Catherine of Alexandria*, fresco, Appartamento Borgia, Vatican Palace, Vatican State, 1492–94. Scala/Art Resource, NY.

cycle. As with the Piccolomini Turk, scholars continue to debate the identity of the Borgia Turk, as well as his significance in the interpretation of the Borgia fresco cycle as a whole.²⁵ This figure, depicted with his hands placed confrontationally on his hips, appears in *The Disputation of Saint Catherine of Alexandria*, one of the largest and most prominent of the Borgia frescoes (Figure 12.3). Next to him is Emperor Maxentius, whose armies would ultimately be defeated by Catherine's alleged uncle, the Emperor Constantine I. Both men listen to Catherine's confrontations as she kneels before them, arguing for the authority of the Church. Given the importance of the crusading theme to the overall meaning of the Piccolomini Library cycle, Pinturicchio's anti-Muslim imagery in the Borgia Apartments might have further inclined Cardinal Francesco to select the painter as the decorator for his own endeavor.

Thus at the dawn of the sixteenth century, as Pinturicchio prepared to embark for Siena, he was at the peak of his career. Known for his recreations of antique loggias for prestigious patrons, he would have been the obvious choice for the successful visualization of the classical rhetoric so eloquently spoken and written by Aeneas over the course of his lifetime.

Without question, one of the overarching goals of the library fresco cycle as a whole was to publicize exactly these gifts as a humanist orator and diplomat. Even when acting as pope, the narrative suggests, Pius made his case by drawing upon his classical education and training. This portrayal would, of course, have had its roots in Aeneas's writings, and in particular his humanist argument for the importance of the crusade. Most notable in this

regard is the eighth fresco, which deals directly with Pius's desire to launch a crusade by depicting the Diet of Mantua, a forum he convened in 1459 to persuade European princes and delegates to take up arms against the Turks.

In reality, Pius's approach to this convention had a religious bent. His speech in Mantua showed little concern for the Turkish threat to Western culture and centered instead on the peril faced by the Church.²⁶ In contrast, the eighth fresco in the library cycle depicts Pius using classical rhetorical gestures to argue his points in front of a gathering of scholars, delegates, and clerics. Books play the tableau's central role, communicating a theme of intellectual encroachment. While the diverse range of figures and the volumes they hold suggests the communal, unifying nature of the endeavor, their scholarly mien implies a vast pool of knowledge, conveying to the viewer what will be lost if their crusade should fail.

Shortly following this tribute to Pius's oratorical prowess is *The Arrival*, a dramatic end to the library's sweeping narrative. In addition to Pius, four other figures demand attention. Two of them kneel before the pope, consuming the majority of the immediate foreground. To Pius's right is a man in an ornate, fur-trimmed golden robe. His exquisite garment identifies him as Doge Cristoforo Moro, who reigned in Venice from 1462 to 1471.²⁷ The man to Pius's left, dressed in a sumptuous green robe and a large, white turban, gestures towards Doge Moro with his right hand. This figure is most often identified as Hasan Zaccaria, the deposed Prince of Samos, whose Greek island fell to the Ottomans in 1475.²⁸

More likely, however, he is Uzun Hasan (1423–78), the Turkmen prince married to a Byzantine Greek bride, who himself was rumored to have converted to Christianity.²⁹ In 1464, Uzun Hasan sought Venice as an ally in his war against Mehmed and the Ottoman takeover of Turkmen territory.³⁰ Pinturicchio's fresco gives visual form to the hierarchy of this alliance. Under the intent regard of Uzun Hasan, Doge Moro kneels and gestures towards Pius in supplication. Returning the doge's steady gaze, Pius points with his right hand across his body to the striking figure of the standing Turk, as if to direct the doge to send his fleet to battle the Islamic foe.³¹ Together these figures indicate an ideally united East and West, ready to heed the papal call to arms against a common enemy.

Behind the doge stands a man in a conspicuous blue hat. He is likely Thomas Palaeologus (1409–65), Despot of the Morea, whose sons became the only surviving heirs of the Imperial Byzantine Palaeologan dynasty after a devastating battle with the Ottoman Empire.³² He fled to Italy, where Pius recognized him as the rightful heir to the Byzantine Empire. He gestures towards himself with his left hand, while a man standing just beside him comfortingly places a hand on the despot's shoulder. By pointing to himself, the despot perhaps indicates to viewers his status, and the dire fate that awaits them should they not heed Pius's warnings.

This fate, of course, would come at the hand of the Turkish figure that stands formidably—indeed, confrontationally—at the edge of the picture plane. As previously stated, scholars typically identify him as Prince Jem or

Celepino Bajezid, both pretenders to the Ottoman throne, papal hostages, and supposed relatives of Mehmed. However, these identifications are entirely questionable. Mehmed's younger son Jem was only five years old in 1464 and had died approximately seven years before Pinturicchio began frescoing the library. Furthermore, this supposed identity of the Piccolomini Turk seems to be largely derived from the highly contested designation of the Borgia Turk as Prince Jem.

Though much more plausible, the figure's identification as Celepino Bajezid is still dubious. Celepino, also called Bajezid Osman and Calixtus Ottomanus touted himself as Mehmed's half-brother who, upon losing the Ottoman throne, escaped to Rome. In exchange for protection, he agreed to Christian baptism under Pope Calixtus III (r. 1455–58). Both Calixtus and Pius tried to use Celepino against Mehmed, purporting to encourage their suspect captive's sultanate ambitions in the hope that Ottoman loyalties could be easily divided. Pius even brought Celepino to the Diet of Mantua, expecting his supposed conversion to inspire European delegates to unite in battle against the Ottoman Empire. While Celepino reportedly joined the papal convoy on its way to Ancona, he would have encouraged any crusade effort, as he correlated Mehmed's defeat with his own ascension. Indeed, Pius would not likely have viewed this suspicious hostage as a threatening symbol of Islamic military might and Pinturicchio is equally unlikely to have depicted him as such.

Moreover, Pinturicchio copied this Turkish figure from a drawing labeled *Standing Turk*, often attributed to Gentile Bellini (Figure 12.4).³³ From 1479 to 1481 Bellini lived in Istanbul at the court of Sultan Mehmed II, after the Venetian Signoria sent him abroad as a diplomatic gesture. Unfortunately, the closest extant, published testimony of Bellini's artistic undertakings is a secondhand document from 1490 that tells of the painter's prolific activity under Mehmed's directive.³⁴ While little survives from this appointment, seven drawings depicting isolated Turkish figures have been associated with Bellini's trip.³⁵ They are most assuredly inspired by firsthand observation, as two of them are annotated, while all seven are rendered with the exactitude of empirical examination. Though Bellini's authorship remains a subject of contention, the drawings can be accredited to one workshop, as they share the same (plausibly Venetian) pen technique.³⁶ They may well be copies completed by Bellini's assistants, after his original sketches, for distribution purposes. As this information suggests, the Borgia Turk—and, in turn, the Piccolomini Turk—derive from a well-circulated drawing of an anonymous man, most likely encountered by a Venetian artist working in Istanbul.

The *Standing Turk* embodies a break from the stylized images of generic Islamic figures frequently rendered by medieval and Renaissance artists. Though Europeans had been illustrating myriad Eastern types for centuries, the fall of Constantinople and continued Turkish advance provided an impetus for a new approach. Opportunities for empirical observation and prolonged contact allowed artists to depict Turks with greater specificity.³⁷ Julian Raby has noted that such specificity was employed selectively, however, as both



12.4 Copy after Gentile Bellini, *Standing Turk*, pen and brown ink, 30.1 × 20.4 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France. Courtesy of Michèle Bellot (RMN–Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY).

stylized and accurate figures are readily apparent in Pinturicchio's Borgia frescoes. Multiple individuals are unconvincingly costumed in vaguely oriental outfits, while a select few are authentically attired Turks.³⁸ This comparison between the figure copied from the *Standing Turk* sketch and the cycle's more stylized Eastern types could easily be applied to the Piccolomini Library frescoes. In addition to the final Turkish figure, these images teem with conventional oriental characters, each of whom is elegant, sinuous, and ornately dressed. In both the Borgia Apartments and the Piccolomini Library, then, the sharp contrast between the domineering lifelike Turk and the benign placidity of Pinturicchio's typical figures demands particular consideration, specific to the circumstances of their respective commissions.

To that end, attempts to impose a precise identity on the Piccolomini Turk ultimately prove problematic. We can say confidently, however, that the drawing of the *Standing Turk* was admired in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries precisely because it was thought to possess total verisimilitude. I would therefore propose that this figure's potent impact on early sixteenth-century viewers of the library cycle lay not in his individuality, but in his perceived authenticity. So rather than ascribe a definite identity to the arresting figure in the library, I suggest that he should instead be considered an archetypal Turk, one who stands in for the threat of Islam at large. To be sure, it was not simply the figure's domineering posture, broad stance, expansive presence, and hostile regard that would have appeared threatening to the viewer. It was also—and *especially*—his origins in the *Standing Turk*, a well-known sketch valued for its purported accuracy. At the same time, it is worth noting that in much the same way that Aeneas manipulated sources to construct a written image of the Turks as descendants of an ancient, barbarian, literature-hating race, Pinturicchio's image of the Turk is similarly constructed, utilizing a genuine source to argue an entirely subjective view. Rendered as a serious and imminent danger that will bring down civilization and threaten its learning, the Piccolomini Turk is not to be taken lightly, nor will he be conquered easily.

Furthermore, Pinturicchio has placed this figure directly in line with both the urban landscape of Ancona and its cathedral, perhaps indicating exactly what might be lost—in this case, both the civilized city and the Church itself. Finally, we might look to Pinturicchio's soaring birds for yet another clue to the fresco's meaning. While sweeping, generic birds constitute frequently employed decorative devices of Umbrian artists, these two creatures are readily and specifically identifiable. As others have also observed, the hooked bill and sleek profile of the top bird clearly designate it as a bird of prey built for speed—a falcon, perhaps.³⁹ With its long tail and rounded body, the second bird is likely a pheasant—an innocent victim of the voracious falcon. Thus this pairing is likely symbolic of the lingering threat of devastation to Christendom waged by an insatiable Islamic enemy.

Without doubt, Pius's valiant attempts to organize a crusade resulted in catastrophe. His failure in 1464 glaringly revealed the ineffectiveness of crusade planning in general, while emphasizing the strikingly inadequate

nature of his own rhetorical tactics. Indeed, after Mehmed II conquered Constantinople in 1453, the Turks seized Athens and Bosnia in the 1460s, and Negroponte in 1470. The Ottoman Empire's unrelenting drive towards the west was seemingly inexorable. In 1502—the same year that Pinturicchio began work on Cardinal Francesco's commission—the Venetians, who decades before had resisted Pius's calls to crusade, were in the throes of a four-year war with the Turks over contested territories in the Adriatic, Aegean, and Ionian Seas. The war ended in 1503, when the Venetians conceded their defeat to Sultan Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512), the oldest son and successor of Mehmed II. Over the course of the sixteenth century, the strength of the Turks continued to increase as Europeans saw their territorial losses under successive sultans grow more and more expansive. *The Arrival* accordingly forced its original viewers to confront the Turk's chilling stare, and with it, the knowledge that such losses might have been prevented had Pius's warnings been heeded and his directives followed.

Just as Aeneas's texts reconstructed the image of the Turk in classical rhetoric, Cardinal Francesco reconstructed his uncle's story and the Turkish image in a classical visual vocabulary. Unlike the preceding nine frescoes, which display embellished versions of events in Pius's career, *The Arrival* is a complete fiction if taken at face value. However, by ending the fresco cycle with rhetorical gesture, Cardinal Francesco depicts the crusade as a vital yet unfinished task, therefore informing the library's audience of Pius's continued relevance, and, by extension, of the continued relevance of the Piccolomini family. By portraying the image of a looming Turkish threat, Cardinal Francesco would have reminded the scholars and clerics who might have come to study at the Piccolomini Library that the precious contents of the room in which they stood—contents holding both sacred and secular value—were in danger.

Notes

- Both of these identifications enjoy lengthy histories. For a summary of the scholarship, see Gyde V. Shepherd, "A Monument to Pope Pius II: Pinturicchio and Raphael in the Piccolomini Library in Siena, 1494–1508" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1993), pp. 143–5. Donatella Toracca puts forth both possibilities in "Notes," in *The Piccolomini Library in Siena Cathedral*, (ed.) Salvatore Settis and Donatella Toracca (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 1998), p. 369. See also Pietro Scarpellini and Maria Rita Silvestri, *Pinturicchio* (Milan: Federico Motta Editore, 2004), p. 235. The appellation Prince Jem was most recently reiterated in Stratton Davis Green, "A Fifteenth-Century Sienese Fabula: The Dynastic and Patriotic Significance of the Piccolomini Library," in *Renaissance Siena: Art in Context*, (ed.) A. Lawrence Jenkins (Kirkville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2005), p. 168. However, Green seems to conflate the identities of the two Turks, each of whom was exiled to Italy in the fifteenth century and separately held hostage under two different Borgia popes. Such amalgamations are oft repeated. For example, Cristina Acidini Luchinat similarly blends the two, using the half-brother's name while designating him the son; see Cristina Acidini Luchinat, *Pinturicchio* (Florence: Scala, 1999), p. 62. For a clear distinction between the two Turks, see Carina L. Johnson, *Cultural Hierarchy in Sixteenth-Century Europe: The Ottomans and Mexicans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 201–2.
- For larger discussions of the image of the Turk, see Hasan Kösebalaban, "The Permanent 'Other' Turkey and the Question of European Identity," *Mediterranean Quarterly* 18, no. 4 (2007): pp. 87–111; and Robert H. Schwoebel, "Coexistence, Conversion, and the Crusade Against the Turks," *Studies in the Renaissance* 12 (1965): pp. 164–87.

- 3 The extent to which these sources inform the frescoes remains a topic of debate. See Green, "A Fifteenth-Century Sieneese Fabula," p. 160; Thomas M. Izbicki, "The Missing Antipope: The Rejection of Felix V and the Council of Basel in the Writings of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini and the Piccolomini Library," *Viator* 44, no.1 (2010): pp. 301–14; Emily O'Brien, "The Politics of Painting: Cardinal Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini, Pope Pius II, and the Frescoes of the Piccolomini Library," in *From Florence to the Mediterranean and Beyond: Essays in Honor of Anthony Mohlo*, (ed.) Diogo Ramada Curto, Eric R. Dursteler, Julius Kirshner, and Francesca Trivellato, vol. 1 (Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 2009), pp. 427–46; Shepherd, "A Monument to Pope Pius II," pp. 118–19; and Toracca, "The Piccolomini Library and the Glorification of the Moon in Siena," in *The Piccolomini Library in Siena Cathedral*, (ed.) Salvatore Settis and Donatella Toracca (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 1998), p. 262.
- 4 For a thorough examination of the connections between Pius and Caesar's respective *Commentaries*, see Emily O'Brien, "Arms and Letters: Julius Caesar, the *Commentaries* of Pope Pius II, and the Politicization of Papal Imagery," *Renaissance Quarterly* 62, no. 4. (2009): pp. 1057–97.
- 5 In these scenes, as in a traditional oration, the subject is alternately lauded and condemned, while his character and deeds are compared to the actions of past renowned figures. See Green, "A Fifteenth-Century Sieneese Fabula," pp. 153–71; and "The Context and Function of the Piccolomini Library and Its Frescoes: Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini as a Paradigm of Fifteenth-Century Ideas about Rhetoric and Reform" (PhD diss., University of California, 1992). It should be further noted that the relationship between the Latin epitaphs and the frescoes under which they appear remains problematic. These inscriptions do not always correlate to the images, and the discrepancies have led authors, such as Vasari, to recount some non-existent scenes that more closely align with the epitaphs. See Shepherd, "A Monument to Pope Pius II," pp. 117–18.
- 6 Izbicki, "The Missing Antipope," pp. 301–14.
- 7 On the particular nature of fifteenth-century crusade rhetoric produced by humanist scholars, see Suzanne Akbari, "Conclusion: A Glance at Early Modern Orientalism," in *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100–1450* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), pp. 280–89; Nancy Bisaha, *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and Ottoman Turks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); Bisaha, "Pope Pius II and the Crusade," in *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century: Message and Impact*, ed. Norman Housley (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 39–52; Bisaha, "New Barbarian or Worthy Adversary? Humanist Constructs of the Ottoman Turks in Fifteenth-Century Italy," in *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Perceptions of the Other*, (ed.) David Blanks and Michael Frassetto (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), pp. 185–206; James Hankins, "Renaissance Humanist Crusaders: Humanist Crusade Literature in the Age of Mehmed II," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 (1995): pp. 111–207; Margaret Meserve, "Italian Humanists and the Problem of the Crusade," in *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century: Message and Impact*, (ed.) Norman Housley (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 13–38; Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008); Meserve, "Nestor Denied: Francesco Filelfo's Advice to Princes on the Crusade against the Turks," *Osiris* 25 (2010): pp. 47–65.
- 8 Bisaha, "New Barbarian or Worthy Adversary," pp. 187–8.
- 9 For comprehensive examinations of the expansion of the Ottoman Empire, see Franz Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time*, (ed.) William C. Hickman, trans. Ralph Manheim (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992); Halil Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age, 1300–1600* (London: Orion Publishing Group, 2001); and Steven Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
- 10 Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, *Der Briefwechsel des Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini*, *Fontes rerum austriacarum* 68, (ed.) Rudolf Wolk (Vienna: Alfred Holder, 1918), p. 140.
- 11 *Ibid.*, p. 141.
- 12 *Ibid.*, p. 200.
- 13 Bisaha, *Creating East and West*, p. 5.
- 14 Piccolomini, *Der Briefwechsel*, p. 208.
- 15 I do not intend to suggest that Aeneas argued for a crusade only as a humanist, as that is certainly not the case. Rather, I offer that his humanist writings in particular provide the impetus for the library's crusade depictions.
- 16 Piccolomini, translated in Bisaha, *Creating East and West*, p. 68.
- 17 Certainly, arguments for crusading steeped in racial and ethnic rhetoric is not an invention of fifteenth-century humanists. Such views are readily found in medieval discourse, both clerical and chivalric. In his 1095 call to crusade, Pope Urban II labeled Muslims "an accursed race, a race utterly alienated from God." See *The First Crusade: The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and Other Source Materials*, (ed.) Edward Peters (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971),

- pp. 2–3. Meanwhile, one of the most famous *chansons de geste*, the circa 1100 *Song of Roland*, describes Roland's Saracen enemy as "the abhorred race, than blackest ink more black in face" (*The Song of Roland*, trans. John O'Hagan (London: C. Kegan Paul & Co, 1880), p. 154). On race and crusade rhetoric in the Middle Ages, see Akbari, *Idols in the East*; Geraldine Heng, *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), and Heng, "The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages" *Literature Compass* 8, no. 5 (2011): pp. 315–31.
- 18 Piccolomini, *Der Briefwechsel*, p. 209.
 - 19 Meserve, "Italian Humanists and the Problem of the Crusade," p. 25.
 - 20 *Ibid.*, p. 14.
 - 21 Piccolomini, translated in Meserve, "Italian Humanists and the Problem of the Crusade," pp. 13–14.
 - 22 *Ibid.*, p. 14.
 - 23 For a broader history of the reception and development of *grotesche* in fifteenth and sixteenth-century Italian art, see Nicole Dacos, *La Découverte de la Domus Aurea et la formation des grotesques à la Renaissance* (London: Warburg Institute, 1969) and Hetty E. Joyce, "Studies in the Renaissance Reception of Ancient Vault Decoration," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 67 (2004): pp. 193–232. For Pinturicchio's specific involvement, see Juergen Schulz, "Pinturicchio and the Revival of Antiquity," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 25, no. 1/2 (1962): pp. 35–55; and Claudia La Malfa, "Dating Pinturicchio's Roman Frescoes and the Creation of a New All' Antica Style," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 70 (2007): pp. 119–41.
 - 24 The revival of the *grotesche* in Pinturicchio's time may be traced to the accidental discovery in the late fifteenth century of Emperor Nero's expansive first-century villa, the Domus Aurea, which provided a treasure trove of antique stylistic motifs for Renaissance painters. Once the ruins became known, many artists—including Pinturicchio, Raphael, and Michelangelo—descended into the cavernous structure to see the paintings for themselves. As the halls of the Domus Aurea seemed to its visitors like underground caves, or *grotte*, the fanciful, brightly colored figures decorating its walls—including griffins, winged creatures, and musical satyrs—became known as *grotesche*. By 1502, when Pinturicchio began work in the Piccolomini Library, patrons, including Cardinal Francesco, were requesting these fantastic creatures by name. While the grotesques seem to be based entirely on antique visual precedent, Pinturicchio's fictitious loggias appear to have been taken from ancient written sources, most notably Vitruvius's circa 20 BCE *Ten Books on Architecture* and Pliny's circa 77 CE *Natural History*. Vitruvius describes walls "in covered promenades" decorated with "harbors, headlands, shores, rivers, springs, straits, temples, groves, hills, cattle, [and] shepherds," while Pliny discusses walls painted by the Roman artist Ludius, covered with "pictures of country houses and porticoes and landscape gardens, groves, woods, hills, fish-ponds, canals, rivers, coasts, and ... pictures of seaside cities." See Vitruvius, *On Architecture: Books 6–10*, (ed. and trans.) Frank Granger, Loeb Classical Library 280 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1934), vol. 2, p. 103; and Pliny the Elder, *Natural History: Books 33–35*, (ed. and trans.) H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library 394 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952), vol. 9, pp. 347–9.
 - 25 Two prominent, turbaned Turkish figures appear in *The Disputation of Saint Catherine*. Scholars contest the identities of both. For a succinct summary of the debate up to 1979, see N. Randolph Parks, "On the Meaning of Pinturicchio's Sala Dei Santi," *Art History* 2, no. 3 (1979): pp. 309–10. Sabine Poeschel's more recent and thorough consideration of the figures argues that Jem is not the standing figure, but rather the Turk astride a horse at the far right of the composition. No known drawing exists for this horseback figure. For Poeschel's most current examination of the frescoes and the figures therein, see Sabine Poeschel, *Alexander Maximus: Das Bildprogramm des Appartamento Borgia im Vatikan* (Weimar: VDG Verlag, 1999), especially pp. 149–55.
 - 26 Bisaha, "Pope Pius II and the Crusade," p. 43.
 - 27 While the gold robe clearly indicates this figure's status as a Venetian doge, Moro was not known to have had a beard. However, Doge Agostino Barbarigo, who reigned during the time of the commission's inception, was bearded, causing scholars to question whom Francesco intended to depict. See Shepherd, "A Monument to Pope Pius II," pp. 143–4.
 - 28 This identification is questionable, though quite frequently repeated. See Shepherd, "A Monument to Pope Pius II," pp. 143–4 for the history of this suggestion. For a more recent reiteration, see Green, "A Fifteenth-Century Sieneese Fabula," p. 168. Michael Barry has argued that the kneeling figure is the pretender to the Ottoman throne, Calixtus Ottomanus, and that the standing Turk is merely his squire. See Michael Barry, "Renaissance Venice and Her 'Moors,'" in *Venice and the Islamic World, 828–1797*, (ed.) Stefano Carboni (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 150.
 - 29 Shepherd first suggested this identification. See Shepherd, "A Monument to Pope Pius II," p. 144.
 - 30 Though they are distantly related, the Turkmens are not to be confused with Ottoman Turks. During the Renaissance, the Turkmens comprised a different, and quite fractioned, political entity.

Furthermore, Italian Renaissance humanists considered the Turkmen dynasty to be entirely separate from the Turkish House of Osman, believing the Turkmens to be legitimate successors of the Persianate Timurid dynasty. See Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror*, especially Book Five, "Uzun Hasan in League with the West," pp. 302–68; Cristelle Baskins, "The Bride of Trebizond: Turks and Turkmens on a Florentine Wedding Chest, circa 1460," *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Cultures of the Islamic World* 29 (2012): pp. 83–100; and Meserve, *Empires of Islam*, pp. 203–37.

- 31 As others have noted, Pius's head in the foreground visually connects to Ancona's Arch of Trajan in the background. This observation has led to discussions of the potentially portrayed connections between Pius's crusade aspirations and classical military expeditions. See Barbara Bays, "The Piccolomini Library in the Cathedral of Siena" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1999), p. 7; and Shepherd, "A Monument to Pope Pius II," pp. 147–8.
- 32 This traditional identification is largely based on the figure's beard and costume. Thomas Palaeologus was a crucial figure in Pius's reign, as he brought the famed relic of Saint Andrew's head to Ancona in November of 1460, whereupon he presented it to the pope. Pius's reception of the relic in Rome features heavily in his *Commentaries*, as he considered it one of the most momentous events of his papacy.
- 33 Scholars have also posited Costanzo da Ferrara as the potential artist, given his own trip to Istanbul in the late 1470s. However, his authorship is unlikely. For attribution issues, see Caroline Campbell and Alan Chong, "Bellini in Istanbul," in *Bellini and the East*, (ed.) Caroline Campbell and Alan Chong (London: National Gallery Company, 2005), pp. 98–101; and Alan Chong, "Gentile Bellini in Istanbul: Myths and Misunderstandings," in *Bellini and the East*, pp. 106–29, especially "The Artist Formerly Known as Costanzo da Ferrara," pp. 126–7.
- 34 Chong, "Gentile Bellini in Istanbul," p. 108.
- 35 Two figures derived from these drawings appear in the Borgia *Disputation of Saint Catherine*—both the aforementioned *Standing Turk*, and the man to the right of the emperor's throne. A third figure from this group of drawings, a seated janissary, appears in another Borgia Apartments fresco, *The Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian*.
- 36 Campbell and Chong, "Bellini in Istanbul," p. 99.
- 37 Julian Raby, "Picturing the Levant," in *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration*, (ed.) Jay A. Levenson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), pp. 77–81.
- 38 *Ibid.*, p. 77.
- 39 G.W. Kitchin is one of the first authors to note this distinctive pair of birds. See Kitchin, *The Life of Pope Pius II as Illustrated by Pinturicchio's Frescoes in the Piccolomini Library at Siena* (London: Chiswick Press, 1881), p. 30. He refers to them as a "bird of prey" and "screaming goose."

Select Bibliography of Secondary Literature

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